THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER. HIS OPINION OF

I. The Laws and Government.
II. Protestant Religion.
III. The Papists.
IV. Foreign Affairs.

By the Honourable Sir *W. Coventry*. Corrected and Amended by a Person of Honour.

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p. 56-

p. 61-

The Dutch war in 1666.

THE PREFACE.

IT must be more than an ordinary provocation than can tempt a Man to write in an Age overrun with Scriblers, as Egypt *was with Flies and Locusts: That worst Vermin of small Authors has given the World such a Surfeit, that instead of desiring to Write, a Man would be more inclin'd to wish, for his own ease, that he could not* Read; *but there are some things which do so raise our passions, that our Reason can make no Re-*

ſiſtance; and when Madmen, in two Extreams, ſhall agree to make common ſenſe Treaſon, and joyn to fix an ill Character upon the only Men in the Nntion who deſerve a good one; I am no longer Maſter of my better Reſolution to let the World alone, and muſt break looſe from my more reaſonable Thoughts, to expoſe theſe falſe Coyners, who would make their Copper Wares paſs upon us for good Payment.

Amongſt all the Engines of Diſſention, there has been none more powerful in all Times, than the fixing Names upon one another of Contumely and Reproach, and the reaſon is plain, in reſpect of the People, who tho' generally they are uncapable of making a Syllogiſm or forming an Argument, yet they can pronounce a word; and that ſerves their turn to throw it with

their

their dull malice at the Head of those they do not like; such things ever begin in Jest, and end in Blood, and the same word which at first makes the Company merry, grows in time to a Military Signal to cut one anothers Throats.

These Mistakes are to be lamented, tho' not easily cured, being suitable enough to the corrupted Nature of Mankind; but 'tis hard, that Men will not only invent ill Names, but they will wrest and misinterpret good ones; so afraid some are even of a reconciling sound, that they raise another noise to keep it from being heard, lest it should set up and encourage a dangerous sort of Men, who prefer Peace and Agreement, before Violence and Confusion.

Were it not for this, why, after we have played the Fool with throw-

ing Whig *and* Tory *at one another, as Boys do Snow-Balls, do we grow angry at new a Name, which by its true ſignification might do as much to put us into our Wits, as the other has done to put us out of them?*

This innocent word Trimmer *ſignifies no more than this, That if Men are together in a Boat, and one part of the Company would weigh it down on one ſide, another would make make it lean as much to the contrary; it happens there is a third Opinion of thoſe, who conceive it would do as well, if the Boat went even, without endangering the Paſſengers; now 'tis hard to imagin by what Figure in Language, or by what Rule in Senſe this comes to be a fault, and it is much more a wonder it ſhould be thought a Hereſy.*

But

But ſo it happens, that the poor Trimmer *has now all the Powder ſpent upon him alone, while the* Whig *is a forgotten, or at leaſt a neglected Enemy; there is no danger now to the State (if ſome Men may be believed) but from the Beaſt called a* Trimmer, *take heed of him, he is the Inſtrument that muſt d ſtroy Church and State; a new kind of Monſter, whoſe deformity is ſo expos'd, that, were it a true Picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright Children, and make Women miſcarry at the ſight of it.*

But it may be worth the examining, whether he is ſuch a Beaſt as he is Painted. I am not of that Opinion, and am ſo far from thinking him an Infidel either in Church or State, that I am neither afraid to expoſe the Articles

of his Faith in Relation to Government, nor to say that I prefer them before any other Political Creed, that either our angry Divines, or our refined States-men would impose upon us.

I have therefore in the following Discourse endeavour'd to explain the Trimmer's *Principles and Opinions, and then leave it to all discerning and impartial Judges, whether he can with Justice be so Arraign'd, and whether those who deliberately pervert a good Name, do not very justly deserve the worst that can be put upon themselves.*

THE

THE Trimmer's Opinion OF THE LAWS AND GOVERNMENT.

OUr Trimmer, as he has a great Veneration for Laws in general, ſo he has more particular for our own, he looks upon them as the Chains that tye up our unruly Paſſions, which elſe, like wild Beaſts let looſe, would reduce the world into its firſt State of Barbariſm and Hoſtility; the good things we enjoy, we owe to them; and

all the ill things we are freed from is by their Protection.

God himſelf thought it not enough to be a Creator, without being Law-giver, and his goodneſs had been defective towards mankind in making them, if he had not preſcribed Rules to make them happy too.

All Laws flow from that of Nature, and where that is not the Foundation, they may be legally impos'd, but they will be lamely obeyed: By this Nature is not meant that which Fools and Madmen miſquote to juſtify their Exceſſes; it is innocent and uncorrupted Nature, that which diſpoſes Men to chuſe Vertue, without its being preſcrib'd, and which is ſo far from inſpiring ill thoughts into us, that we take pains to ſuppreſs the good ones it infuſes.

The Civilized World has ever paid a willing ſubjection to Laws, even Conquerors have done homage to them; as the *Romans*, who took Patterns of good Laws, even from thoſe they had ſubdued; and at the ſame time that they Triumph'd over an enſlav'd People, the very Laws of that place did not only remain ſafe, but became Victorious; their

their new Maſters, inſtead of ſuppreſſing them, paid them more reſpect than they had from thoſe who firſt made them: and by this wiſe method they arrived to ſuch an admirable Conſtitution of Laws, that to this day they Reign by them; the Excellency of them Triumphs ſtill, and the World pays now an acknowledgment of their obedience to that Mighty Empire, though ſo many Ages after it is diſſolved; and by a later inſtance, the Kings of *France*, who, in practice uſe their Laws pretty familiarly, yet think their Picture is drawn with moſt advantage upon their Seals, when they are placed in the Seat of Juſtice; and tho' the Hieroglyphick is not there of ſo much uſe to the People as they would wiſh, yet it ſhews that no Prince is ſo Great, as not to think fit, for his own Credit at leaſt, to give an outward, when he refuſes a real worſhip to the Laws.

They are to mankind that which the Sun is to Plants, whilſt it cheriſhes and preſerves 'em. Where they have their force & are not clouded or ſuppreſt, every thing ſmiles and flouriſhes; but where they are darkened, and not ſuffered to ſhine

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out, it makes every thing to wither and decay.

They ſecure Men not only againſt one another, but againſt themſelves too; they are a Sanctuary to which the Crown has occaſion to reſort as often as the People, ſo that it is an Intereſt as well as a Duty to preſerve them.

There would be no end of making a Panegyrick of Laws; let it be enough to add, that without Laws the World would become a Wilderneſs, and Men little leſs than Beaſts; but with all this, the beſt things may come to be the worſt, if they are not in good hands; and if it be true that the wiſeſt Men generally make the Laws, it is as true, that the ſtrongeſt do often Interpret them: and as Rivers belong as much to the Channel where they run, as to the Spring from whence they firſt riſe, ſo the Laws depend as much upon the Pipes thro' which they are to paſs, as upon the Fountain from whence they flow.

The Authority of a King who is Head of the Law, as well as the Dignity of Publick juſtice, is debaſed, when the clear ſtream of the Law is puddled and diſturbed by Bunglers, or convey'd by unclean Inſtruments to the People.

Our

Our *Trimmer* would have them appear in their full luſtre, and would be grieved to ſee the day, when, inſtead of ſpeaking with Authority from the Seats of Juſtice, they ſhould ſpeak out of a Grate, with a lamenting voice like Priſoners that deſire to be reſcu'd.

He wiſhes that the Bench may have a Natural as well as a Legal Superiority to the Bar; he thinks Mens abilities very much miſplac'd, when the Reaſon of him that pleads is viſibly too ſtrong for thoſe who Judge and give Sentence.

When thoſe from the Bar ſeem to dictate to their Superiours upon the Bench, their Furrs will look ſcurvily about them, and the reſpect of the World will leave the bare Character of a Judge, to follow the Eſſential knowledge of a Lawyer, who may be greater in himſelf, than the other can be with all his Trappings.

An uncontеſted Superiority in any Calling, will have the better of any diſtinct Name that Authority can put upon it, and therefore if ever ſuch an unnatural Method ſhould be introduc'd, it is then that *Weſtminſter-Hall* might be ſaid to ſtand upon its Head, and though Juſtice it ſelf can never be ſo, yet the

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Adminiſtration of it would be rendered Ridiculous.

A Judge has ſuch power lodg'd in him, that the King will never be thought to have choſen well, where the voice of Mankind has not before-hand recommended the Man to his Station; when Men are made Judges of what they do not underſtand, the World cenſures ſuch a Choice, not out of ill-will to the Men, but fear to themſelves.

If the King had the ſole power of chuſing Phyſicians, Men would tremble to ſee Bunglers preferred, yet the neceſſity of taking Phyſick from a Doctor, is generally not ſo great as that of recieving Juſtice from a Judge; and yet the Inferences will be very ſevere in ſuch caſes, for either it will be thought that ſuch Men bought what they were not able to deſerve, or which is as bad, that Obedience ſhall be look'd upon as a better Qualification in a Judge, than Skill or Integrity, when ſuch ſacred things as the Laws are not only touch'd, but guided by prophane hands; Men will fear that out of the Tree of the Law, from whence we expect Shade and Shelter, ſuch Workmen will make Cudgels to beat us with, or rather that they

they will turn the Cannon upon our Properties, that were intruſted with them for their Defence.

To ſee the Laws Mangled, Diſguiſed, Speak quite another Language than their own, to ſee them thrown from the Dignity of protecting Mankind, to the diſgraceful Office of deſtroying them; and, notwithſtanding their Innocence in themſelves, to be made the worſt Inſtruments that the moſt refined Villany can make uſe of, will raiſe Mens Anger above the power of laying it down again, and tempt them to follow the Evil Examples given them of Judging without Hearing, when ſo provoked by their deſire of Revenge. Our *Trimmer* therefore, as he thinks the Laws are Jewels, ſo he believes they are no better ſet, than in the conſtitution of our *Engliſh* Government, if rightly underſtood, and carefully preſerved.

It would be too great Partiality to ſay they are perfect or liable to no Objection; ſuch things are not of this world; but if they have more Excellencies and fewer Faults than any other we know, it is enough to recommend them to our Eſteem.

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The Diſpute, which is a greater Beauty, a Monarchy or a Common-wealth, has laſted long between their contending Lovers, and (they have behav'd themſelves ſo like Lovers, who in good Manners muſt be out of their Wits,) who uſed ſuch Figures to exalt their own Idols on either ſide, and ſuch angry Aggravations, to reproach one another in the Conteſt, that moderate men have in all times ſmil'd upon this eagerneſs, and thought it differ'd very little from a downright Frenzy: we in *England*, by a happy uſe of the Controverſie, conclude them both in the wrong, and reject them from being our Pattern, not taking the words in the utmoſt extent, which is a thing, that Monarchy leaves men no Liberty, and a Common-wealth ſuch a one, as allows them no Quiet.

We think that a wiſe Mean, between theſe barbarous Extreams, is that which ſelf-Preſervation ought to dictate to our Wiſhes; and we may ſay we have attained to this Mean in a greater meaſure, than any Nation now in being, or perhaps any we have read of; tho never ſo much Celebrated for the wiſdom or Felicity of their Conſtitutions:

We

We take from one the too great power of doing hurt, and yet leave enough to govern and protect us; we take from the other, the Confuſion, the Parity, the Animoſities, and the Licenſe, and yet reſerve a due care of ſuch a Liberty, as may conſiſt with Mens Allegiance; but it being hard, if not impoſſible, to be exactly even, our Government has much the ſtronger Biaſs towards Monarchy, which by the general Conſent and Practice of Mankind, ſeems to have the Advantage in diſpute againſt a Commonwealth: The Rules of a Commonwealth are too hard for the Bulk of Mankind to come up to; that Form of Government requires ſuch a ſpirit to carry it on, as do's not dwell in great Numbers, but is reſtrained to ſo very few, eſpecially in this Age, that let the Methods appear never ſo much reaſonably in Paper, they muſt fail in Practice, which will ever be ſuited more to Mens Nature as it is, than as it ſhould be.

Monarchy is lik'd by the People, for the Bells and the Tinſel, the outward Pomp and Gilding, and there muſt be milk for Babes, ſince the greateſt part of Mankind are, and ever will be included

ded in that Liſt; and it is approv'd by wiſe and thinking Men, (all Circumſtances and Objections impartially conſider'd) that it has ſo great an advantage above all other Forms, when the Adminiſtration of that Power falls in good hands; that all other Governments look out of Countenance, when they are ſet in Competition with it. *Lycurgus* might have ſav'd himſelf the trouble of making laws, if either he had been Immortal, or that he could have ſecur'd to Poſterity, a ſucceeding Race of Princes like himſelf; his own Example was a better Law, than he could with all his skill tell how to make; ſuch a Prince is a Living Law, that dictates to his ſubjects, whoſe thoughts in that caſe never riſe above their Obedience, the Confidence they have in the Vertue and Knowledge of the maſter, preventing the Scruples and Apprehenſions to which Men are naturally inclin'd, in relation to thoſe that govern them; ſuch a Magiſtrate is the Life and Soul of Juſtice, whereas the Law is but a Body and a dead one too, without his influence to give it warmth and vigour, and by the irreſiſtible Power of his Vertue, he do's ſo reconcile Dominion and Allegiance,

Allegiance, that all diſputes between them are ſilenced and ſubdued, and indeed no Monarchy can be Perfect and Abſolute without exception, but where the Prince is Superior by his Vertue, as well as by his Character and his Power; ſo that to ſcrew out Preſidents and unlimited Power, is a plain diminution to a Prince that Nature has made Great, and who had better make himſelf a glorious Example to Poſterity, than borrow an Authority from Dark Records, raiſed out of the Grave, which beſides their Non-uſage, have always in them matter of Controverſie and Debate, and it may be affirmed, that the inſtances are very rare of Princes having the worſt in the diſpute with their People, if they were Eminent for Juſtice in time of Peace, or Conduct in time of War, ſuch advantage the Crown giveth to thoſe who adorn it by their own Perſonal Vertues.

But ſince for the greatet Honour of Good and Wiſe Princes, and the better to ſet off their Character by the Compariſon, Heaven has decreed there muſt be a mixture, and that ſuch as are perverſe and inſufficient, or at leaſt both, are perhaps to have their equal turns in the

the Government of the World, and beſides, that the Will of Man is ſo various, and ſo unbounded a thing, and ſo fatal too when joined with Power miſapply'd; it is no wonder if thoſe who are to be govern'd, are unwilling to have ſo dangerous as well as ſo uncertain a Standard of their Obedience.

There muſt be therefore Rules and Laws: for want of which, or at leaſt the Obſervation of them, it was as Capital for a Man to ſay that *Nero* did not play well upon the Lute, as to commit Treaſon, or Blaſpheme the Gods. And even *Veſpaſian* himſelf had like to have loſt his Life, for ſleeping whilſt he ſhould have attended and admir'd that Emperours Impertinence upon the Stage. There is a wantonneſs in great Power that Men are generally too apt to be corrupted with, and for that Reaſon, a wiſe Prince, to prevent the temptation ariſing from common frailty, would chooſe to Govern by Rules for his own Sake, as well as for his Peoples, ſince it only ſecures him from Errors, and does not leſſen the real Authority, that a good Magiſtrate would care to be poſſeſs'd of; for if the Will of a

Prince

Prince is contrary either to Reaſon it ſelf, or to the univerſal Opinion of his Subjects, the Law by a kind reſtraint reſcues him from a diſeaſe that would undo him; if his will on the other ſide is reaſonable or well directed, that Will immediately becomes a Law, and he is arbitrary by an eaſie and natural Conſequence, without taking pains, or overturning the World for it.

If Princes conſider Laws as things impos'd on them, they have the appearance of Fetters of Iron, but to ſuch as would make them their choice as well as their practice, they are Chains of Gold; and in that reſpect are Ornaments, as in others they are a defence to them, and by a Compariſon, not improper for God's Vicegerents upon Earth; as our Maker never Commands our obedience to any thing, that as reaſonable Creatures we ought not to make our own Election; ſo a good and wiſe Governor, tho' all Laws were aboliſh'd, would by the voluntary direction of his own Reaſon, do without reſtraint the very ſame things that they would have enjoyned.

Our *Trimmer* thinks that the King and Kingdom ought to be one Creature, not

not to be ſeparated in their Political Capacity; and when either of them undertake to act a-part, it is like the crawling of Worms after they are cut in pieces, which cannot be a laſting motion, the whole Creature not ſtirring at a time. If the Body has a dead Palſie, the Head cannot make it move; and God hath not yet delegated ſuch a healing power to Princes, as that they can in a moment ſay to a Languiſhing People oppreſs'd and in deſpair, take up your beds and walk.

The Figure of a King, is ſo comprehenſive and exalted a thing, that it is a kind of degrading him to lodge that power ſeparately in his own Natural Perſon, which can never be ſafely or naturally great, but where the People are ſo united to him as to be Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone; for when he is reduc'd to the ſingle definition of a man, he ſinks into ſo low a Character, that it is a temptation upon Mens Allegiance, and an impairing that veneration which is neceſſary to preſerve their Duty to him; whereas a Prince who is ſo joined to his people that they ſeem to be his Limbs, rather than his Subjects, Cloathed with Mercy and Juſtice

Juſtice rightly apply'd in their ſeveral places, his Throne ſupported by Love as well as by Power, and the warm wiſhes of his devoted Subjects, like never-failing Incenſe, ſtill aſcending towards him, looks ſo like the beſt Image we can frame to our ſelves of God Almighty, that Men would have much ado not to fall down and worſhip him, and would be much more tempted to the Sin of Idolatry, than to that of Diſobedience.

Our *Trimmer* is of Opinion, that there muſt be ſo much Dignity inſeparably annexed to the Royal Function, as may be ſufficient to ſecure it from inſolence and contempt; and there muſt be Condeſcenſions from the Throne, like kind ſhowers from Heaven, that the Prince may look ſo much the more like God Almighty's Deputy upon Earth; for power without love hath a terrifying aſpect, and the Worſhip which is paid to it is like that which the *Indians* give out of fear to Wild Beaſts and Devils: he that fears God only becauſe there is an Hell, muſt wiſh there were no God; and he who fears the King, only becauſe he can puniſh, muſt wiſh there were no King; ſo that without

out a principle of Love, there can be no true Allegiance, and there muſt remain perpetual Seeds of Reſiſtance againſt a power that is built upon ſuch an unnatural Foundation, as that of fear and terrour. All force is a kind of foul play, and whoſoever aims at it himſelf, does by implication allow it to thoſe he plays with; ſo that there will be ever Matter prepared in the minds of People when they are provoked, and the Prince, to ſecure himſelf muſt live in the midſt of his own Subjects, as if he were in a Conquer'd Country, raiſe Arms as if he were immediately to meet or reſiſt an Invaſion, and all this while ſleep as unquietly from the fear of the Remedies, as he did before from that of the Diſeaſe; it being hard for him to forget, that more Princes have been deſtroyed by their Guards than by their People; and that even at the time when the Rule was *Quod Principi placuit Lex eſto*: the Armies and *Prætorian* Bands which were the Inſtruments of that unruly Power, were frequently the means made uſe of to deſtroy them who had it. There will ever be this difference between God and his Vicegerents, that God is ſtill above the

the Inſtruments he uſes, and out of the danger of receiving hurt from them; but Princes can never lodge Power in any hands, which may not at ſome time turn it back upon them; for tho' it is poſſible enough for a King to have power to ſatisfy his Ambition; yet no Kingdom has Money enough to ſatisfie the avarice of under-Work-men, who learn from that Prince who will exact more than belongs to him, to expect from him much more than they deſerve, and growing angry upon the firſt diſappointment, they are the Devils which grow terrible to the Conjurers themſelves who brought them up, and can't ſend them down again; And beſides that, there can be no laſting Radical Security, but where the Governed are ſatisfied with the Governours. It muſt be a Dominion very unpleaſant to a Prince of an elevated Mind, to impoſe an abject and ſordid ſervility, inſtead of receiving the willing Sacrifice of Duty and Obedience. The braveſt Princes in all times, who were uncapable of any other kind of fear, have fear'd to grieve their own People; ſuch a fear is a glory, and in this ſenſe 'tis an infamy not to be a Coward; So that

the miſtaken Heroes who are void of this generous kind of fear, need no other aggravation to compleat their ill Characters.

When a Deſpotick Prince has bruiſed all his Subjects with a ſlaviſh Obedience, all the force he can uſe cannot ſubdue his own fears, Enemies of his own Creation, to which he can never be reconciled, it being impoſſible to do injuſtice, and not to fear Revenge: there is no cure for this fear, but the not deſerving to be hurt, and therefore a Prince who does not allow his thoughts to ſtray beyond the Rules of Juſtice, has always the bleſſing of an inward quiet and aſſurance, as a natural effect of his good meaning to his People, and tho he will not neglect due precautions to ſecure himſelf in all Events, yet he is uncapable of entertaining vain and remote ſuſpicions of thoſe, of whom he reſolves never to deſerve ill.

It is very hard for a Prince to fear Rebellion, who neither does, nor intends to do any thing to provoke it; therefore too great a diligence in the Governours, to raiſe and improve dangers and fears from the People, is no very good Symptom, and naturally begets

gets an inference, that they have thoughts of putting their Subjects Allegiance to a Tryal; and therefore not without ſome Reaſon fear before hand, that the Irregularities they intend, may raiſe Men to a Reſiſtance.

Our *Trimmer* thinks it no advantage to a Government, to endeavour the ſuppreſſing all kind of Right which may remain in the Body of the People, or to employ ſmall Authors in it, whoſe Officiouſneſs or want of Money may encourage them to write, tho' it is not very eaſie to have Abilities equal to ſuch a Subject; they forget that in their too high ſtrained Arguments for the Rights of Princes, they very often plead againſt humane Nature, which will always give a Biaſs to thoſe Reaſons which ſeem of her ſide; it is the People that Reads thoſe Books, and it is the People that muſt judge of them; and therefore no Maxims ſhould be laid down for the Right of Government, to which there can be any Reaſonable Objection; for the World has an Intereſt, and for that Reaſon is more than ordinary diſcerning to find out the weak ſides of ſuch Arguments as are intended to do them hurt; and it is a diminution to a Go-

vernment to Promote or Countenance ſuch well affected miſtakes which are turned upon it with diſadvantage, whenever they are detected and expos'd; and Naturally the too earneſt Endeavours to take from Men the Right they have, tempt them, by the Example to Claim that which they have not.

In Power, as in moſt other things, the way for Princes to keep it, is not to graſp more than their Arms can well hold; the nice and unneceſſary enquiring into theſe things, or the Licenſing ſome Books, and ſuppreſſing ſome others without ſufficient Reaſon to Juſtifie the doing either, is ſo far from being an Advantage to a Government, that it expoſes it to the Cenſure of being Partial and to the ſuſpicion, of having ſome hidden deſigns to be carried on by theſe unuſual methods.

When all is ſaid, there is a Natural Reaſon of State, and undefinable thing, grounded upon the Common Good of Mankind, which is immortal, and in all Changes and Revolutions, ſtill preſerves its Original Right of ſaving a Nation, when the Letter of the Law perhaps would deſtroy it; and by whatſoever

ſoever means it moves, carrieth a Power with it, that admits of no oppoſition, being ſupported by Nature, which inſpires an immediate conſent at ſome Critical times into every individual Member, to that which viſibly tendeth to preſervation of the whole; and this being ſo, a Wiſe Prince inſtead of Controverting the right of this Reaſon of State, will by all means endeavour it may be of his ſide, and then he will be ſecure.

Our *Trimmer* cannot conceive that the Power of any Prince can be laſting, but where 'tis built upon the foundation of his own unborrowed vertue, he muſt not only be the firſt Mover and the Fountain, from whence the great Acts of State originally flow, but he muſt be thought ſo to his People that they may preſerve their veneration for him; he muſt be jealous of his Power, and not impart ſo much of it to any about him, as that he may ſuffer an Eclipſe by it.

He cannot take too much care to keep himſelf up, for when a Prince is thought to be led by thoſe, with whom he ſhould onely adviſe, and that the Commands he gives are tranſmitted through him, and are not of his own growth;

the World will look upon him as a bird adorned with Feathers that are not his own, or consider him rather as an Engine than a living Creature; besides, 'twould be a Contradiction for a Prince to fear a Common-wealth, and at the same time create one himself, be delegating such a Power to any Number of Men near him, as is inconsistant with the Figure of a Monarch: it is the worst kind of Co-ordination the Crown can submit to; for it is the exercise of Power that draws the respect along with it, and when that is parted with, the bare Character of a King is not sufficient to keep it up; but tho' it is a diminution to a Prince, to parcel out so liberally his Power amongst his Favourites, it's worse to divide with any other Man, and to bring himself in Competition with a single Rival; a Partner in Government is so unnatural a thing, that it is a squint-ey'd Allegiance that must be paid to such a double bottom'd Monarchy. The two Czars of *Muscovy* are an Example that the more civiliz'd part of the World will not be proud to follow, whatsoever Gloss may be put upon this method, by those to whom it may be of some use, the Prince will

will do well to remember, and reflect upon the Story of certain Men who had ſet up a Statue in Honour of the Sun, yet in a very little time they turned their backs to the Sun, and their Faces to the Statue.

Theſe Myſtical Unions are better plac'd in the other World, than they are in this, and we ſhall have much ado to find, that in a Monarchy Gods Vicegerency is delegated to more Heads than that which is annointed.

Princes may ſend ſome of their Light to make another ſhine, but they muſt ſtill preſerve the ſuperiority of being the brighter Planet, and when it happens that the Reverſion is in Mens Eyes, there is more care neceſſary to keep up the Dignity of Poſſeſſions, that Men may not forget who is King, either out of their hopes or fears who ſhall be. If the Sun ſhou'd part with all his Light to any of the Stars, the *Indians* would not know where to find their God, after he had ſo depoſed himſelf, and would make the Light (wherever it went) the Object of their Worſhip.

All Uſurpation is alike upon Soveraignty, its no matter from what hand it coms; and Crowned Heads

are to be the more Circumſpect, in reſpect Mens thoughts are naturally apt to ramble beyond what is preſent, they love to work at a diſtance, and in their greedy Expectations; which their minds may be fill'd with of a new Maſter, the old one may be left to look a little out of Countenance.

Our *Trimmer* owns a Paſſion for liberty, yet ſo reſtrained, that it does not in the leaſt impair or taint his Allegiance, he thinks it hard for a Soul that does not love Liberty, ever to raiſe it ſelf to another World he takes it to be the foundation of all vertue, and the only ſeaſoning that gives a reliſh to life, and tho' the lazineſs of a ſlaviſh ſubjection, has its Charms for the more groſs and earthly part of Mankind, yet to men made of a better ſort of Clay, all that the World can give without Liberty has no taſte; it is true, nothing is ſold ſo cheap by unthinking men, but that does no more leſſen the real value of it, than a Country Fellows Ignorance does that of a Diamond, in ſelling it for a Pot of Ale. Liberty is the Miſtreſs of Mankind, ſhe has powerful Charms which do ſo dazzle us, that we find Beauties in her which perhaps

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are not there, as we do in other Miſtreſſes; yet if ſhe was not a Beauty, the World would not run mad for her; therefore ſince the reaſonable deſire of of it ought not to be reſtrain'd, and that even the unreaſonable deſire of it cannot be intirely ſuppreſs'd, thoſe who would take it away from a People poſſeſſed of it, are likely to fail in the attempting, or be very unquiet in the keeping of it.

Our *Trimmer* admires our bleſſed Conſtitutions, in which Dominion and Liberty are ſo well reconciled; it gives to the Prince the glorious Power of Commanding Free-men, and to the Subject, the ſatiſfaction of ſeeing the Power ſo lodged, as that their Liberties are ſecure; it do s not allow the Crown ſuch a Ruining Power, as that no graſs can grow where e're it treads, but a Cheriſhing and Protecting Power; ſuch a one as hath a grim Aſpect only to the offending Subjects, but is the Joy and the Pride of all the good ones; their own intereſt being ſo bound up in it, as to engage them to defend and ſupport it; and tho in ſome inſtances the King is reſtrain'd yet nothing in the Government can move without him; our

Laws make a diſtinction between Vaſſalage and Obedience; between devouring Prerogatives, and a Licentious ungovernable Freedom: and as of all the Orders of Building, the Compoſite is the beſt, ſo ours by a happy mixture and a wiſe choice of what is beſt in others, is brought into a Form that is our Felicity who live under it, and the envy of our Neighbour that cannot imitate it.

The Crown has power ſufficient to protect our Liberties. The People have ſo much Liberty as is neceſſary to make them uſeful to the Crown.

Our Government is in a juſt proportion, no Tympany, no unnatural ſwelling either of Power or Liberty; and whereas in all overgrown Monarchies, Reaſon, Learning, and Enquiry are hang'd in Effigy for Mutineers; here they are encouraged and cheriſhed as the ſureſt Friends to a Government eſtabliſh'd upon the Foundation of Law and Juſtice. When all is done, thoſe who look for Perfection in this World, may look as the *Jews* have for their *Meſſias*, and therefore our *Trimmer* is not ſo unreaſonably Partial as to free our Governments; and from all objections, no doubt there have been fatal Inſtances of its Sickneſs, and more than

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that, of its Mortality, for ſometime, tho' by a Miracle, it hath been reviv'd again: but till we have another race of Mankind, in all Conſtitutions that are bounded, there will ever be ſome matter of Strife, and Contention, and rather than want pretenſions, Mens Paſſions and Intereſts will raiſe them from the moſt inconſiderable Cauſes.

Our Government is like our Climate, there are Winds which are ſometimes loud and unquiet, and yet with all the Trouble they give us, we owe great part of our Health unto them, they clear the Air, which elſe would be like a ſtanding Pool, and inſtead of Refreſhment would be a Diſeaſe unto us.

There may be freſh Gales of aſſerting Liberty, without turning into ſuch ſtorms of Hurricane, as that the State ſhould run any hazard of being Caſt away by them; theſe ſtruglings which are natural to all mixed Governments, while they are kept from growing in Convulſions, do by a mutual agitation from the ſeveral parts, rather ſupport and ſtrengthen, than weaken or maim the Conſtitution; and the whole frame, inſtead of being torn or diſjointed, comes to be the better and cloſer knit

knit by being thus exerciſed; but what ever faults our Government may have, or a diſcerning Critick may find in it, when he looks upon it alone; let any other be ſet againſt it, and then it ſhews its Comparative Beauty; let us look upon the moſt glittering outſide of unbounded Authority, and upon a nearer enquiry, we ſhall find nothing but poor and miſerable deformity within; let us imagine a Prince living in his Kingdom, as if in a great Gally, his Subjects tugging at the Oar, laden with Chains, and reduced to real Rags, that they may gain him imaginary Lawrels; let us Repreſent him gazing among his Flatterers, and receiving their falſe Worſhip, like a Child never Contradicted, and therefore always Cozen'd: or like a Lady complemented only to be abuſed, condemned never to hear Truth, and conſequently never to do Juſtice, wallowing in the ſoft Bed of wanton and unbridled Greatneſs, not leſs odious to the Inſtruments themſelves, than to the Objects of his Tyranny; blown up into an Ambitious Dropſy, never to be ſatisfied by the Conqueſt of other People, or by the Oppreſſion of his own; by aiming to be more than a Man,

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he falls lower than the meaneſt of 'em, a miſtaken Creature, ſwelled with Panegyricks, & flattered out of his Senſes, and not only an Incumbrance, but a Nuiſance to Mankind, a hardened and unrelenting Soul, and like ſome Creatures that grow fat with Poiſons, he grows great by other Mens Miſeries; an Ambitious Ape of the Divine Greatneſs, an unruly Gyant that would ſtorm even Heaven it ſelf, but that his ſcaling Ladders are not long enough; in ſhort, a Wild and devouring Creature in rich Trappings, and with all his Pride no more than a Whip in God Almighty's hand, to be thrown into the Fire when the World has been ſufficiently ſcourged with it: This Picture laid in right Colours would not incite Men to wiſh for ſuch a Government, but rather to acknowledge the happineſs of our own, under which we enjoy all the Priviledge Reaſonable Men can deſire, and avoid all the Miſeries many others are ſubject too; ſo that out *Trimmer* would keep it with all its faults, and does as little forgive thoſe who give the occaſion of breaking it, as he does thoſe that take it.

Our *Trimmer* is a Friend to Parliaments

ments, notwithſtanding all their faults, and exceſſes, which of late have given ſuch matter of Objection to them; he thinks that tho' they may at ſometimes be troubleſome to Authority, yet they add the greateſt ſtrength to it under a wiſe Adminiſtration; he believes no Government is perfect except a kind of Omnipotence reſide in it, to exerciſed upon great Occaſions: Now this cannot be obtained by force alone upon People, let it be never ſo great, there muſt be their conſent too, or elſe a Nation moves only by being driven, a ſluggiſh & conſtrained Motion, void of that Life and Vigour which is neceſſary to produce great things, whereas the virtual Conſent of the whole being included in their Repreſentatives, and the King giving the ſanction to the united ſenſe of the People, every Act done by ſuch an Authority, ſeems to be an effect of their choice as well as a part of their Duty; and they do with an eagerneſs, of which Men are uncapable whilſt under a force, execute whatſoever is ſo enjoyned as their own Wills, better explained by Parliament, rather than from the terrour of incurring the Penalty of the Law for omiting it, and by means of this

this Political Omnipotence, what ever Sap or Juice there is in a Nation, may be to the laſt drop be produc'd, whilſt it riſes naturally from the Root; whereas all power exercis'd without conſent, is like the giving Wounds and Gaſhes, and tapping a Tree at unſeaſonable Times, for the preſent occaſion, which in a very little time muſt needs deſtroy it.

Our *Trimmer* believes, that by the advantage of our Scituation, there can hardly any ſuch ſudden Diſeaſe come upon us, but that the King may have time enough left to conſult with his Phyſitians in Parliament; pretences indeed may be made, but a real neceſſity ſo preſſing, that no delay is to be admitted, is hardly to be imagin'd, and it will be neither eaſie to give an inſtance of any ſuch thing for the time paſt, or reaſonable to preſume it will ever happen for the time to come: but if that ſtrange thing ſhould fall out, our *Trimmer* is not ſo ſtrait-lac'd, as to let a Nation dye, or to be ſtifled, rather than it ſhould be help'd by any but the proper Officers. The Caſes themſelves will bring the Remedies along with them; and he is not afraid to allow

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that in order to its preſervation, there is a hidden Power in Government, which would be loſt if it was deſigned, a certain Myſtery, by virtue of which a Nation may at ſome Critical times be ſecur'd from Ruine, but then it muſt be kept as a Myſtery; it is rendered uſeleſs when touch'd by unskilful hands; and no Government ever had, or deſerv'd to have that Power, which was ſo unwary as to anticipate their claim to it: Our *Trimmer* cannot help thinking it had been better, if the Triennial Act had been obſerv'd; becauſe 'tis the Law, and he would not have the Crown, by ſuch an example, teach the Nation to break it; all irregularity is catching, it has a Contagion in it, eſpecially in an Age, ſo much enclin'd to follow ill Patterns than good ones.

He would have a Parliament, becauſe 'tis an Eſſential part of the Conſtitution, even without the Law, it being the only Proviſion in extraordinary Caſes, in which there would be otherwiſe no Remedy, and there can be no greater Soleciſm in Government, than a failure of Juſtice.

He would have had one, becauſe nothing elſe can unite and heal us, all other

other Means are meer Shifts and Projects, Houſes of Cards, to be blown down with the leaſt Breath, and cannot reſiſt the difficulties which are ever preſum'd in things of this kind; and he would have had one, becauſe it might have done the King good, and could not poſſibly have done him hurt, without his conſent, which in that Caſe is not to be ſuppoſed, and therefore for him to fear it, is ſo ſtrange and ſo little to be comprehended, that the Reaſons can never be preſum'd to grow in our Soyl, or to thrive in it when Tranſplanted from any other Country; and no doubt there are ſuch irreſiſtable Arguments for calling a Parliament, and tho it might be deny'd to the unmannerly mutinous Petitions of men, that are malicious and diſaffected, it will be granted to the ſoft and obſequious Murmurs of his Majeſtys beſt Subjects, and there will be ſuch Rhetorick in their ſilent Grief, that it will at laſt prevail againſt the Artifices of thoſe, who either out of Guilt or Intereſt, are afraid to throw themſelves upon their Country, knowing how ſcurvily they have uſed it; that day of Judgment will

will come, tho we know neither the day nor the hour. And our *Trimmer* would live ſo as to be prepared for it, with full aſſurance in the mean time, that the lamenting Voice of a Nation cannot long be reſiſted, and that a Prince who could ſo eaſily forgive his People when they had been in the wrong, cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

The *Trimmer*'s Opinion concerning the Proteſtant Religion.

RElegion has ſuch a Superiority above other things, and that indiſpenſable Influence upon all Mankind, that it is as neceſſary to our Living Happy in this World, as it is to our being Sav'd in the next, without it Man is an abandon'd Creature, one of the worſt Beaſts Nature hath produc'd, and fit only for the Society of Wolves and Bears; therefore in all Ages

ges it has been the Foundation of Government: and tho falſe Gods have been impos'd upon the Credulous part of the World, yet they were Gods ſtill in their Opinion, and the Awe and Reverence Men had to them and their Oracles, kept them within bounds towards one another, which the Laws with all their Authority could never have effected without the help of Religion; the Laws would not be able to ſubdue the perverſeneſs of Mens Wills, which are Wild Beaſts, and require a double Chain to keep them down; for this Reaſon 'tis ſaid, That it is not a ſufficient ground to make War upon a Neighbouring State, becauſe they are of another Religion, let it be never ſo differing; yet if they Worſhip'd nor Acknowledg'd any Deity at all, they may be Invaded as Publick Enemies of Mankind, becauſe they reject the only thing that can bind them to live well with one another; the conſideration of Religion is ſo twiſted with that of Government, that it is never to be ſeparated, and tho the Foundations of it ought to be Eternal and Unchangeable, yet the Terms and Circumſtances of Diſcipline, are to be ſuited to the ſeveral

ral Climates and Conſtitutions, ſo that they may keep men in a willing Acquieſcence unto them, without diſcomposing the World by nice diſputes, which can never be of equal moment with the publick Peace.

Our Religion here in *England* ſeems to be diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar effect of God Almighty's goodneſs, in permiting it to be introduc'd, or rather reſtored, by a more regular Method than the Circumſtances of moſt other Reformed Churches would allow them to do, in relation to the Government; and the Dignity with which it has ſupported it ſelf ſince, and the great Men our Church hath produced, ought to recommend it to the eſteem of all Proteſtants at leaſt: Our *Trimmer* is very partial to it, for theſe Reaſons, and many more, and deſires that it may preſerve its due Juriſdiction and Authority? ſo far he is from wiſhing it oppreſſed by the unreaſonable and malicious Cavils of thoſe who take pains to raiſe Objections againſt it.

The Queſtions will then be, how and by what Methods this Church ſhall beſt ſupport it ſelf (the preſent Circumſtances conſider'd) in relation to

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Diſſenters of all ſorts: I will firſt lay this for a ground, That as there can be no true Religion without Charity, ſo there can be no true humane prudence without bearing and condeſcenſion: This Principle does not extend to oblige the Church always to yield to thoſe who are diſpoſed to Conteſt with her, the expediency of doing it is to be conſidered and determined according to the occaſion, and this leads me to lay open the thoughts of our *Trimmer*, in reference, firſt, to the Proteſtants, and then to the Popiſh Recuſants.

What has lately hapned among us, makes an Apology neceſſary for ſaying any thing that look s like favour towards a ſort of Men who has brought themſelves under ſuch a diſadvantage.

The late Conſpiracy hath ſuch broad Symptoms of the diſaffection of the whole Party, that upon the firſt reflections, while our thoughts are warm, it would almoſt perſwade us to put them out of the protection of our good Nature, and to think that the Chriſtian Indulgence with our compaſſion for other Mens Sufferings cannot eaſily deny, ſeems not only to be forfeited by the ill appearances that are againſt them,

them, but even becomes a Crime when it is ſo miſapplied; yet for all this, upon ſecond and cooler thoughts, moderate Men will not be ſo ready to involve a whole Party in the guilt of a few, and to admit inferences and Preſumptions to be Evidence in a Caſe, where the Sentence muſt be ſo heavy, as it ought to be againſt all thoſe who have a fixed reſolution againſt the Goverement eſtabliſhed? beſides, Men who act by a Principle grounded upon Moral Vertue, can never let it be clearly extinguiſhed by the moſt repeated Provocations; if a right thing agreeable to Nature and good Sence taks root in the heart of a Man, that is impartial and unbyaſs'd, no outward Circumſtances can ever deſtroy it; its true, the degrees of a Mans Zeal for the proſecution of it may be differing, faults of other Men, the conſideration of the publick, and the ſeaſonable Prudence by which Wiſe Men will ever be directed, may give great Allays; they may leſſen and for a time perhaps ſuppreſs the exerciſe of that, which in general Propoſition may be reaſonable, but ſtill whatever is ſo will inevitably grow and ſpring up again, having a Foundation in Nature, which

which is never to be deſtroy'd.

Our *Trimmer* therefore endeavours to ſeparate the deteſtation of thoſe who had either a hand or a thought in the late Plot, from the Principle of Prudential as well as Chriſtian Charity towards Mankind, and for that reaſon would fain uſe the means of reclaiming ſuch of the Diſſenters as are not incurable, and even bearing to a degree thoſe that are, as far as may conſiſt with the Publick Intereſt and Security; he is far from juſtifying an affected ſeparation from the Communion of the Church, and even in thoſe that mean well, and are miſtaken; he looks upon it as a Diſeaſe that has ſeized upon their Minds, very troubleſome as well as dangerous, by the Conſequence it may produce: he does not go about to excuſe their making it an indiſpenſable duty, to meet in numbers to ſay their Prayers, ſuch meetings may prove miſchievous to the State at leaſt; the Laws which are the beſt Judges, have determined that there is danger in them: he has good nature enough to lament that the perverſneſs of a Part ſhould have drawn Rigorous Laws upon the whole Body of the Diſſenters, but when they are once

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made, no private Opinion muſt ſtand in Oppoſition to them; if they are in themſelves reaſonable, they are in that reſpect to be regarded, even without being enjoyned, if by the Change of Time and Circumſtances they ſhould become leſs reaſonable than when they were firſt made, even then they are to be obey'd too, becauſe they are Laws, till they are mended or repealed by the ſame Authority that Enacted them.

He has too much deference to the Conſtitution of our Government, to wiſh for more Prerogative Declarations in favour of ſcrupulous Men, or to diſpence with Penal Laws in ſuch manner, or to ſuch an end, that ſuſpecting Men might with ſome reaſon pretend, that ſo hated a thing as Perſecution could never make way for it ſelf with any hopes of Succeſs, otherwiſe than by preparing the deluded World by a falſe proſpect of Liberty and Indulgence. The inward Springs and Wheels whereby the Engine moved, are now ſo fully laid open and expos'd, that it is not ſuppoſable that ſuch a baffled Experiment ſhould ever be tryed again, the effect it had at the time, and the Spirit it raiſed, will not eaſily be forgotten,

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and it may be preſum'd the remembrance of it may ſecure us from any more attempts of that Nature for the future; we muſt no more break a Law to give Men eaſe, than we are to Rifle an Houſe with a devout intention of giving the plunder to the Poor; in this caſe, our Compaſſion would be as ill directed, as our Charity in the other.

In ſhort, the veneration due to the Laws is never to be thrown off, let the pretences be never ſo ſpecious; yet with all this he cannot bring himſelf to think, that an extraordinary diligence to take the uttermoſt penalty of Laws, upon the poor offending Neighbour, is of it ſelf ſuch an all-ſufficient vertue, that without any thing elſe to recommend Men, it ſhould Entitle them to all kind of Preferments and Rewards; he would not detract from the merits of thoſe who execute the Laws, yet he cannot think ſuch a piece of ſervice as this, can entirely change the Man, and either make him a better Divine, or a more knowing Magiſtrate than he was before, eſpecially if it be done with a partial and unequal hand, in Reverence to greater and more dangerous Offenders.

Our *Trimmer* would have thoſe miſtaken Men ready to throw themſelves into the arms of the Church, and he would have thoſe arms as ready to receive them that ſhall come to us; he would have no ſupercilious look to fright thoſe ſtrayed Sheep from coming into the Fold again; no ill-natur'd maxims of an Eternal ſuſpicion, or a belief that thoſe who have once been in the wrong can never be in the right again; but a viſible preparation of mind to recieve with joy all the Proſelites that come amongſt us, and much greater earneſtneſs to reclaim than puniſh them: It is to be confeſs'd, there is a great deal to forgive, a hard task enough for the Charity of a Church ſo provoked; but that muſt not cut off all hopes of being reconciled, yet if there muſt be ſome anger left ſtill, let it break out into a Chriſtian Revenge, and by being kinder to the Children of Diſobedience than they deſerve, let the injur'd Church Triumph, by throwing ſhame and confuſion of face upon them; there ſhould not always be Storms and Thunder, a clear Sky would ſometime make the Church look more like Heaven, and would do more towards the reclaiming

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thoſe wanderers, than a perpetual terrour, which ſeemed to have no intermiſſion; for there is in many, and particularly in *Engliſh Men*, a miſtaken pleaſure, in reſiſting the dictates of Rigorous Authority; a Stomach that riſeth againſt a hard impoſition, nay, in ſome, raiſe even a luſt in ſuffering from a wrong point of Honour, which does not want the applauſe, from the greater part of Mankind, who have not learnt to diſtinguiſh; conſtancy will be thought a virtue even where it is a miſtake; and the ill Judging World will be apt to think that Opinion moſt right, which produces the greateſt number of thoſe who are willing to ſuffer for it; all this is prevented, and falls to the ground, by uſing well-timed Indulgence; and the ſtubborn Adverſary who values himſelf upon his reſiſtance whilſt he is oppreſs'd, yields inſenſibly to kind Methods, when they are apply'd to him, and the ſame Man naturally melts into Conformity, who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught by the Compaſſion that attendeth the moſt Criminal Men when they are Condemned, that Faults are much more natural

things than Puniſhments, and that even the moſt neceſſary acts of ſeverity do ſome kind of violence to our Nature, whoſe Indulgence will not be confined within the ſtrait bounds of inexorable Juſtice; ſo that this ſhould be an Argument for gentleneſs, beſides that it is the likelieſt way to make theſe Men aſham'd of their Separation, whilſt the preſſing them too hard, tends rather to make them proud of it.

Our *Trimmer* would have the Clergy ſupported in their lawful Rights, and in all the Power and Dignity that belongs to them, and yet he thinks that poſſibly there may be in ſome of them a too great eagerneſs to extend the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; which tho it may be well intended, yet the ſtraining of it too high has an appearance of Ambition that raiſes mens Objections to it, and is far unlike the Apoſtolick Zeal, which was quite otherwiſe employ'd, that the World draws inferences from it, which do the Church no ſervice.

He is troubled to ſee Men of all ſides ſick of a Calenture of a miſtaken Devotion, and it ſeems to him that the devout Fire of miſtaken Charity with which the Primitive Chriſtians were inflam'd,

flam'd, is long ſince extinguiſh'd, and inſtead of it a devouring Fire of Anger and Perſecution breaks out in the World; we wrangle now one with another about Religion till the Blood comes, whilſt the Ten Commandments have no more authority with us, than if they were ſo many obſolete Laws or Proclamations out of date; he thinks that a Nation will hardly be mended by Principles of Religion, where Morality is made a Hereſy; and therefore as he believes Devotion miſplaced when it gets into a Conventicle, he concludes that Loyalty is ſo too, when lodg'd in a Drunken Club; thoſe Vertues deſerve a better Seat of Empire, and they are degraded, when ſuch Men undertake their defence, as have too great need of an Apology themſelves.

Our *Trimmer* wiſhes that ſome knowledge may go along with the Zeal on the right ſide, and that thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of the Pulpit, would quote at leaſt ſo often the Authority of the Scriptures as they do that of the State; there are many who borrow too often Arguments from the Government, to uſe againſt their Adverſaries; and neglect thoſe that are

more proper, and would be more powerful; a Divine grows leſs, and puts a diminution on his own Character, when he quoteth any Law but that of God Almighty, to get the better of thoſe who conteſt with him; and it is a ſign of a decay'd Conſtitution, when Nature with good diet cannot expel noxious Humours without calling Foreign Drugs to her Aſſiſtance; So it looks like want of health in a Church, when inſtead of depending upon the power of that Truth which it holds, and the good Examples of them that teach it, to ſupport it ſelf, and to ſuppreſs Errors, it ſhould have a perpetual recourſe to the ſecular Authority, and even upon the ſlighteſt occaſions.

Our *Trimmer* has his Objections to the too buſy diligence, and to the overdoing of ſome of the diſſenting Clergy, and he does as little approve of thoſe of our Church, who wear God Almighty's Liveries, as ſome old Warders in the *Tower* do the King's, who do nothing in their place but receive their Wages for it; he thinks that the Liberty of the late times gave men ſo much Light, and diffuſed it ſo univerſally amongſt the people, that they are not

now

now to be dealt with, as they might have been in Ages of leſs enquiry; and therefore in ſome well choſen and dearly beloved Auditories, good reſolute Nonſenſe back'd with Authority may prevail, yet generally Men are become ſo good Judges of what they hear, that the Clergy ought to be very wary how they go about to impoſe upon their Underſtandings, which are grown leſs humble than they were in former times, when the Men in black had made Learning ſuch a ſin in the Laity, that for fear of offending, they made a Conſcience of being able to read; but now the World is grown ſawcy, and expects Reaſons, and good ones too, before they give up their own Opinions to other Mens Dictates, tho never ſo Magiſterially deliver'd to them.

Our *Trimmer* is far from approving the Hypocriſie which ſeems to be the reigning Vice amongſt ſome of the Diſſenting Clergy, he thinks it the moſt provoking ſin Men can be guilty of, in Relation to Heaven, and yet (which may ſeem ſtrange) that very ſin which ſhall deſtroy the Soul of the Man who preaches, may help to ſave thoſe of the Company that hear him, and even

thoſe who are cheated by the falſe Oſtentation of his ſtrictneſs of life, may by that Pattern be encouraged to the real Practice of thoſe Chriſtian Vertues which he does ſo deceitfully profeſs; ſo that the deteſtation of this fault may poſſibly be carry'd on too far by our own Orthodox Divines, if they think it cannot be enough expreſs'd without bending the Stick another way; a dangerous Method, and a worſe Extream for Men of that Character, who by going to the outmoſt line of Chriſtian Liberty, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it: No Man does leſs approve the ill-bred Methods of ſome of the Diſſenters, in rebuking Authority, who behave themſelves as if they thought ill manners neceſſary to Salvation; yet he cannot but diſtinguiſh and deſire a Mean between the ſawcyneſs of ſome of the *Scotch Apoſtles*, and the undecent Courtſhip of ſome of the Silken Divines, who, one would think, do practice to bow at the Altar, only to learn to make the better Legs at Court.

Our *Trimmer* approves the Principles of our Church, that Dominion is not founded in Grace, and that our Obedience is to be given to a Popiſh King

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in other things, at the ſame time that our Compliance with him in his Religion is to be deny d; yet he cannot but think it a very extraordinary thing if a Proteſtant Church ſhould by a voluntary Election, chuſe a Papiſt for their Guardian, and receive Directions for ſupporting their Religion, from one who muſt believe it a Mortal Sin not to endeavour to deſtroy it; ſuch a refined piece of Breeding would not ſeem to be very well plac d in the Clergy, who will hardly find Preſidents to juſtify ſuch an extravagant piece of Courtſhip, and which is ſo unlike the Primitive Methods, which ought to be our Pattern; he hath no ſuch unreaſonable tenderneſs for any ſorts of Men, as to expect their faults ſhould not be impartially laid open as often as they give occaſion for it; and yet he cannot but ſmile to ſee that the ſame Man, who ſets up all the Sails of his Rhetorick, to fall upon Diſſenters; when Popery is to be handled, he does it ſo gingerly, that he looketh like an Aſs mumbling of Thiſtles, ſo afraid he is of letting himſelf looſe where he may be in danger of letting his Duty get the better of his Diſcretion.

Our *Trimmer* is far from reliſhing the impertinent Wandrings of thoſe who pour out long Prayers upon the Congregation, and all from their own Stock, which God knows, for the moſt part is a barren Soil, which produces Weeds inſtead of Flowers, and by this means they expoſe Religion it ſelf, rather than promote Mens Devotions: On the other ſide, there may be too great Reſtraint put upon Men, whom God and Nature hath diſtinguiſhed from their Fellow Labourers, by bleſſing them with a happier Talent, and by giving them not only good Senſe, but a powerful Utterance too, has enabled them to guſh out upon the attentive Auditory, with a mighty ſtream of Devout and unaffected Eloquence; when a Man ſo qualified, endued with Learning too, and above all, adorn'd with a good Life, breaks out into a warm and well deliver'd Prayer before his Sermon, it has the appearance of a Divine Rapture, he raiſes and leads the Hearts of the Aſſembly in another manner, than the moſt Compos'd or beſt Studied Form of Set Words can ever do; and the Pray-wees, who ſerve up all their Sermons with the ſame Garniſhing,

niſhing, would look like ſo many Statues, or Men of Straw in the Pulpit, compar'd with thoſe who ſpeak with ſuch a powerful Zeal, that Men are tempted at the moment to belive Heaven it ſelf has dictated their words to 'em.

Our *Trimmer* is not ſo unreaſonably indulgent to the Diſſenters, as to excuſe the Irregularities of their Complaints, and to approve their threatning Stiles, which are ſo ill-ſuited to their Circumſtances as well as their Duty; he would have them to ſhew their Grief, and not their Anger to the Government, and by ſuch a Submiſſion to Authority, as becomes them, if they cannot acquieſce in what is impoſed; let them deſerve a Legiſlative Remedy to their Sufferings, there being no other way to give them perfect redreſs; and either to ſeek it, or pretend to give it by any other Method, would not only be vain, but Criminal too in thoſe that go about it; yet with all this, there may in the mean time be a prudential Latitude left, as to the manner of preventing the Laws now in force againſt them: The Government is in ſome degree anſwerable for ſuch an Adminiſtration of them, as may be free from the Cenſure of Impartial

Judges;

Judges; and in order to that, it would be neceſſary that one of theſe methods be purſued, either to ſet looſe the Laws to their utmoſt extent, without any Moderation or Reſtraint, in which at leaſt the Equality of the Government would be without Objection, the Penalties being exacted without Remiſſion from the Diſſenters of all kinds; or if that will not be done (and indeed there is no reaſon it ſhould) there is a neceſſity of ſome Connivance to the Proteſtant Diſſenters to execute that which in Humanity muſt be allowed to the Papiſts, even without any leaning towards them, which muſt be ſuppoſed in thoſe who are or ſhall be in the adminiſtration of publick Buſineſs; and it will follow that, according to our Circumſtances, the diſtribution of ſuch connivance muſt be made in ſuch a manner, that the greateſt part of it may fall on the Proteſtant ſide, or elſe the Objections will be ſo ſtrong, and the Inferences ſo clear, that the Friends, as well as the Enemies of the Crown, will be ſure to take hold of them.

It will not be ſufficient to ſay that the Papiſts may be conniv'd at, becauſe they are good Subiects and that the Proteſtant

teſtant Diſſenters, muſt ſuffer becauſe they are ill ones; theſe general Maxims will not convince diſcerning Men, neither will any late Inſtances make them forget what paſſed at other times in the World; both ſides have had their Turns in being good and ill Subjects. And therefore 'tis eaſie to imagine what ſuſpicions would ariſe in the preſent conjuncture, if ſuch a partial Argument as this ſhould be impos'd upon us; the truth is, this Matter ſpeaks ſo much of it ſelf, that it is not only unneceſſary, but it may be unmannerly to ſay any more of it.

Our *Trimmer* therefore could wiſh, that ſince notwithſtanding the Laws which deny Churches to ſay Maſs in; even not only the Exerciſe, but alſo the Oſtentation of Popery is as well or better performed in the Chappels of ſo many Foreign Miniſters, where the *Engliſh* openly reſort in ſpight of Proclamations and Orders of Council, which are grown to be as harmleſs things to them, as the Popes Bulls and Excommunications are to Hereticks who are out of his reach; I ſay he could wiſh that by a ſeaſonable as well as an equal piece of Juſtice, there might be ſo much

much conſideration had of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, as that there might be at ſometimes, and at ſome places, a Veil thrown over an Innocent and retired Conventicle, and that ſuch an Indulgence might be practic'd with leſs prejudice to the Church, or diminution to the Laws; it might be done ſo as to look rather like a kind Omiſſion to enquire more ſtrictly, than an allow'd Toleration of that which is againſt the Rule eſtabliſhed.

Such a skilful hand as this is very Neceſſary in our Circumſtances, and the Government by making no ſort of Men entirely deſperate, does not only ſecure it ſelf from Villainous attempts, but lays ſuch a Foundation for healing and uniting Laws, when ever a Parliament ſhall meet, that the Seeds of Differences and Animoſities between the ſeveral contending ſides may (Heaven conſenting) be for ever deſtroy'd.

The *Trimmer*'s Opinion concerning the Papiſts.

TO ſpeak of Popery leads me into ſuch a Sea of Matter, that it is not eaſie to forbear launching into it, being invited by ſuch a fruitful Theme, and by a variety never to be exhauſted; but to confine it to the preſent Subject, I will only ſay a ſhort word of the Religion it ſelf; of its influences here at this time; and of our *Trimmer*'s Opinion in Relation to our manner of living with them.

If a Man would ſpeak Maliciouſly of this Religion, one may ſay it is like thoſe Diſeaſes, where as long as one drop of the infection remains, there is ſtill danger of having the whole Maſs of Blood corrupted by it. In *Swedeland* there was an abſolute cure, and nothing of Popery heard of, till Queen *Chriſtiana*

Chriſtiana, (whether mov'd by Arguments of this or the other World, may not be good Manners to enquire) thought fit to change her Religion and Country, and to live at *Rome*, where ſhe might find better judges of her Virtues, and leſs ungentle Cenſures of thoſe Princely Liberties, to which ſhe was ſometimes diſpoſed, than ſhe left at *Stockholme*; where the good breeding is as much inferior to that of *Rome* in general, as the Civility of the Religion. The Cardinals having reſcued the Church from thoſe Clowniſh Methods the Fiſhermen had firſt introduc'd, and mended that Pattern ſo effectually, that a Man of that Age, if he ſhould now come into the World, would not poſſibly know it.

In *Denmark* the Reformation was entire, in ſome States of *Germany*, as well as *Geneva*, the Cure was univerſal; but in the reſt of the World where the Proteſtant Religion took place, the Popiſh humour was too tough to be totally expell'd, and ſo it was in *England*, tho' the Change was made with all the advantage imaginable to the Reformation, it being Countenanc'd and introduc'd by Legal Authority, and by that means might

might have been perhaps as perfect as in any other Place, if the ſhort Reign of *Edward* the 6th, and the ſucceſſion of a Popiſh Queen had not given ſuch advantage to that Religion, that it has ſubſiſted ever ſince under all the hardſhips that have been put upon it; it has been a ſtrong Compact Body, and made the more ſo by theſe Sufferings; it was not ſtrong enough to prevail, but it was able, with the help of foreign ſupport, to carry on an Intereſt which gave the Crown trouble, and to make a conſiderable (not to ſay dangerous) Figure in the Nation; ſo much as this could not have been done without ſome hopes, nor theſe hopes kept up without ſome reaſonable grounds: In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the *Spaniſh* Zeal for their Religion, and the Revenge for 88, gave warmth to the Papiſts here, and above all the Right of the Queen of *Scots* to ſuceeed, was while ſhe lived ſufficient to give them a better proſpect of their Affairs: In King *James*'s time their hopes were ſupported by the Treaty of the *Spaniſh* Match, and his gentleneſs towards them, which they were ready to interpret more in their own Favour, than was either reaſonable or be-

became them, ſo little tenderneſs they have, even where it is moſt due, if the Intereſt of their Religion comes in competition with it.

As for the late King, tho he gave the moſt Glorious Evidence that ever Man did of his being a Proteſtant, yet, by the more than ordinary Influence the Queen was thought to have over him, and it ſo happening that the greateſt part of his Anger was directed againſt the *Puritans*, there was ſuch an advantage to Men diſpos'd to ſuſpect, that they were ready to interpret it a leaning towards Popery, without which handle it was Morally impoſſible, that the ill-affected part of the Nation could ever have ſeduc'd the reſt into a Rebellion.

That which help'd to confirm many well meaning Men in their Miſapprehenſions of the King, was the long and unuſual intermiſſion of Parliaments; ſo that every year that paſſad without one, made up a new Argument to increaſe their Suſpicion, and made them preſume that the Papiſts had a principal hand in keeping them off: This raiſed ſuch Heats in Mens Minds, to think that Men who

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were obnoxious to the Laws, instead of being punished, should have Credit enough to serve themselves, even at the price of destroying the Fundamental Constitution; that it broke out into a Flame, which, before it could be quenched, had almost reduc'd the Nation to Ashes.

Amongst the miserable Effects of that unnatural War, none hath been more fatal to us, than the forcing our Princes to breathe in another Air, and to receive the early impressions of a Foreign Education; the Barbarity of the *English*, towards the King and the Royal Family, might very well tempt him to think the better of every thing he found abroad, and might naturally produce more gentleness, at least, towards a Religion by which he was hospitably received, at the same time that he was thrown off and Persecuted by the Protestants, (tho his own Subjects) to aggravate the Offence. The Queen Mother, (as generally Ladies do with Age) grew most devout and earnest in her Religion; and besides, the temporal Rewards of getting larger Subsidies from the *French* Clergy, she had Motives

of

of another kind, to perſwade her to ſhew her Zeal; and ſince by the *Roman* Diſpenſatory, a Soul converted to the Church is a Soveraign Remedy, and lays up a mighty ſtock of merit; ſhe was ſolicitous to ſecure her ſelf in all Events, and therefore firſt ſet upon the Duke of *Glocester*, who depended ſo much upon her good will, that ſhe might for that reaſon have been induc'd to believe, the Conqueſt would not be difficult; but it ſo fell out, that he either from his own Conſtancy, or that he had thoſe near him by whom he was otherways advis'd, choſe rather to run away from her importunity, than by ſtaying to bear the continual weight of it: It is believ'd ſhe had better ſucceſs with another of her Sons, who, if he was not quite brought off from our Religion, at leaſt ſuch beginnings were made, as made them very eaſie to be finiſh'd; his being of a generous and aſpiring Nature, and in that reſpect, leſs patient in the drudgery of Arguing, might probably help to recommend a Church to him, that exempts the Laity from the vexation of enquiring; perhaps he might (tho-

by

by miſtake) look upon that Religion as more favourable to the enlarged Power of Kings, a conſideration which might have its weight with a young Prince in his warm blood, and that was brought up in Arms.

I cannot hinder my ſelf from a ſmall digreſſion, to conſider with admiration, that the old Lady of *Rome*, with all her wrinkles, ſhould yet have Charms, able to ſubdue great Princes; ſo far from handſom, and yet ſo imperious; ſo painted, and yet ſo pretending; after having abus'd, depos'd, and murther'd ſo many of her Lovers, ſhe ſtill finds others glad and proud of their new Chains; a thing ſo ſtrange, to indifferent Judges, that thoſe who will allow no other Miracles in the Church of *Rome*, muſt needs grant that this is one not to be conteſted; ſhe ſits in her Shop, and ſells at dear Rates her Rattles and her Hobby-Horſes, whilſt the deluded World ſtill continues to furniſh her with Cuſtomers.

But whither am I carried with this Contemplation? it is high time to return to my Text, and to conſider the won-

wonderful manner of the Kings coming home again, led by the hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of his own People, who receiv'd him, if poſſible, with Joys equal to the Bleſſing of Peace and Union which his Reſtauration brought along with it; by this there was an end put to the hopes ſome might have abroad, of making uſe of his leſs happy Circumſtances, to throw him into foreign Intereſts and Opinions, which had been wholly inconſiſtent with our Religion, our Laws, and all other things that are dear to us; yet for all this, ſome of thoſe Tinctures and impreſſions might ſo far remain, as tho' they were very innocent in him, yet they might have ill effects here, by ſoftning the Animoſity which ſeems neceſſary to the Defender of the Proteſtant Faith, in oppoſition to ſuch a powerful and irreconcileable an Enemy.

You may be ſure, that among all the ſorts of Men who apply'd themſelves to the King at his firſt coming home, for his Protection, the Papiſts were not the laſt, nor, as they fain would have flatter'd themſelves, the leaſt welcome; having their paſt Sufferings, as well as their

their preſent Profeſſions to recommend them; and there was ſomething that look'd like a particular Conſideration of them, ſince it ſo happened, that the Indulgence promiſed to Diſſenters at *Breda*, was carried on in ſuch a manner, that the Papiſts were to divide with them, and tho' the Parliament, notwithſtanding its Reſignation to the Crown in all things, rejected with ſcorn and anger a Declaration fram'd for this purpoſe, yet the Birth and ſteps of it gave ſuch an alarm, that Mens ſuſpicious once raiſed, were not eaſily laid aſleep again.

To omit other things, the breach of the Tripple League, and the *Dutch* War with its appurtenances, carried Jealouſies to the higheſt pitch imaginable, and fed the hopes of one Party, and the fears of the Other to ſuch a degree, that ſome Critical Revolutions were generally expectad, when the ill ſucceſs of that War, and the Sacrifice *France* thought fit to make of the Papiſts here, to their own intereſt abroad, gave them another Check; and the Act of enjoyning the Teſt to all in Offices, was thought to be no ill Bargain to the Nation, tho' bought at the Price

Price of 1200000 pound, and the Money apply'd to continue the War againſt the *Dutch*, than which nothing could be more unpopular or leſs approved. Notwithſtanding the diſcouragements, Popery is a Plant that may be mowed down, but the Root will ſtill remain, and in ſpite of the Laws, it will ſprout up & grow again; eſpecially if it ſhould happen that there ſhould be Men in Power, who in weeding it out of our Garden, will take care to Cheriſh and keep it alive; and tho' the Law for excluding them from Places of Truſt was tolerably kept as to their outward Form, yet there were many Circumſtances, which being improved by the quick-ſighted Malice of ill affected Men, , did help to keep up the World in their ſuſpicions, and to blow up Jealouſies to ſuch a heighth both in and out of Parliament, that the remembrance of them is very unpleaſant, and the Example ſo extravagant, that it is to be hop'd nothing in our Age like it will be re-attempted; but to come cloſer to the Caſe in queſtion, in this Condition we ſtand with the Papiſts, what ſhall now be done according to our *Trimmer*s Opinion, in order to the better Bear-

Bearing this grievance, ſince as I have ſaid before, there is no hopes of being entirely free from it; Papiſts we muſt have among us, and if their Religion keep them from bringing honey to the Hive, let the Government try at leaſt by gentle means to take away the Sting from them. The firſt Foundation to be laid is, that a diſtinct Conſideration is to be had of the Popiſh Clergy, who have ſuch an eternal Intereſt againſt all accommodation, that it is a hopeleſs thing to propoſe any thing to them leſs than all; their Stomachs have been ſet for it ever ſince the Reformation, they have pinned themſelves to a Principle that admits no mean: they believe Proteſtants will be damn'd, and therefore by an extraordinary Effect of Chriſtian Charity, they would deſtroy one half of *England* that the other might be ſaved; then for this World, they muſt be in poſſeſſion for God Almighty, to receive his Rents for him, not to accompt till the Day of Judgment, which is a good kind of Tenure, and ye cannot well blame the good Men, that will ſtir up the Laity to run any hazard in order to the getting them reſtor'd. What is it to the

Prieſt, if the deluded Zealot undoes himſelf in the Attempt? he ſings Maſſes as jollily, and with as good a Voice at *Rome* or *St. Omers* as ever he did; is a ſingle Man, and can have no wants but ſuch as may be eaſily ſupply'd, yet that he may not ſeem altogether inſenſible, or ungrateful to thoſe that are his Martyrs, he is ready to aſſure their Executors, and if they pleaſe, will procure a Grant *ſub Annulo Piſcatoris*, that the good Man by being changed, has got a good Bargain, and ſav'd the ſinging of ſome hundred of years, which he would elſe have had in Purgatory. There's no Cure for this Order of Men, no Expedient to be propos'd, ſo that tho the utmoſt ſeverity of the Laws againſt them, may in ſome ſort be mittigated, yet no Treaty can be made with Men who in this Caſe have left themſelves no free Will, but are ſo muffled by Zeal, tyed by Vows, and kept up by ſuch unchangeable Maxims of the Prieſthood, that they are to be left as deſperate Patients, and look'd upon as Men that will continue in an Eternal State of Hoſtility, till the Nation is entirely ſubdued to them. It is then only the Lay Papiſts that are capable of being treated with, and we are to examine

of

of what temper they are, and what Arguments are the moſt likely to prevail upon them, and how far 'tis adviſeable for the Government to be Indulgent to them; the Lay Papiſts generally keep their Religion, rather becauſe they will not break Company with thoſe of their Party, than out of any ſettled Zeal that hath Root in them; moſt of them do by the Mediation of the Prieſts Marry amongſt one another, to keep up an ignorant Poſition by hearing only one ſide; others by a miſtake look upon it as the Eſcutcheons of the more Antient Religion of the two; and as ſome Men of a good Pedigree, will deſpiſe meaner Men, tho' never ſo much ſuperior to them by Nature, ſo theſe undervalue Reformation as an Upſtart, and think there is more Honour in ſupporting an old Errour, than in embracing what ſeems to them to be a new Truth; the Laws have made them Men of Pleaſure, by excluding them from Publick Buſineſs, and it happens well they are ſo, ſince they will the more eaſily be perſwaded by Arguments of Eaſe and Conveniency to them; they have not put off the Man in general, nor the *Engliſhman* in particular, thoſe who in the late ſtorm

againſt them went into other Countries, tho they had all the Advantage that might recommend them to a good Reception, yet in a little time they choſe to ſteal over again, and live here with hazard, rather than abroad with ſecurity. There is a Smell in our Native Earth, better than all the Perfumes in the Eaſt; there is ſomething in a Mother, tho never ſo Angry, that the Children will more Naturally truſt Her, than the Studied Civilities of Strangers, let them be never ſo Hoſpitable; therefore 'tis not adviſeable, nor agreeing with the Rules of Governing Prudence, to provoke Men by hardſhips to forget that Nature, which elſe is ſure to be of our ſide.

When theſe Men by fair Uſage are put again into their right Senſes, they will have quite differing Reflections from thoſe which Rigour and Perſecution had raiſed in them: A Lay Papiſt will firſt conſider his Abby-Lands, which notwithſtanding whatever has or can be alledged, muſt ſink conſiderably in the Value, the moment that Popery prevails; and it being a diſputable Matter, whether Zeal might not in a little time get the better of the

the Law in that caſe; a conſidering Man will admit that as an Argument to perſwade him, to be content with things as they are, rather than run this or any other hazard by Change, in which perhaps he may have no other Advantage, than that his new humble Confeſſor may he rais'd to a Biſhoprick, and from thence look down ſuperciliouſly upon his Patron, or which is worſe, run to take Poſſeſſion for God Almighty of his Abby, in ſuch a manner as the uſurping Landlord (as he will then be called) ſhall hardly be admitted to be ſo much as a Tenant to his own Lands, leſt his Title ſhould prejudge that of the Church, which will then be the Language; he will think what diſadvantage 'tis to be looked upon as a ſeparate Creature, depending upon a Foreign Intereſt and Authority, and for that reaſon, expos'd to the Jealouſie and Suſpicion of his Country-men; he will reflect what Incumbrance it is to have his Houſe a Paſture for hungry Prieſts to graze in, which have ſuch a never-failing Influence upon the Fooliſh, which is the greateſt part of every Man's Family, that a Man's Dominion, even over his own

Children, is mangled and divided, if not totally undermin'd by them; then to be ſubject to what Arbitrary Taxes the Popiſh Convocations ſhall impoſe upon them for the carrying on the Common Intereſt of that Religion, under Penalty of being mark'd out for half Hereticks by the reſt of the Party; to have no ſhare in Buſineſs, no opportunity of ſhewing his own Value to the World; to live at the beſt an uſeleſs, and by others to be thought a dangerous Member of the Nation where he is born, is a burthen to a generous Mind that cannot be taken off by all the Pleaſure of a lazy unmanly life, or by the nauſeous enjoyment of a dull Plenty, that produceth no good for the Mind, which will be conſidered in the firſt place by a Man that has a Soul; when he ſhall think, that if his Religion, after his wading through a Sea of Blood, come at laſt to prevail, it would infinitely leſſen, if not entirely deſtroy the Glory, Riches, Strength and Liberty of his own Country. And what a Sacrifice is this to make to *Rome*, where they are wiſe enough to wonder there ſhould be ſuch Fools in the World, as to venture, ſtruggle, and contend, nay,

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even die Martyrs for that which, ſhould it ſucceed, would prove a Judgment inſtead of a Bleſſing to them; he will conclude that the advantages of throwing ſome of their Children back again to God Almighty when they have too many of them, are not equal to the Inconveniencies they may either feel or fear, by continuing their ſeparation from the Religion eſtabliſhed.

Temporal things will have their weight in the World, and tho Zeal may prevail for a time, and get the better in a Skirmiſh, yet the War ends generally on the ſide of Fleſh and Blood, and will do ſo till Mankind is another thing than it is at preſent: And therefore a wiſe Papiſt in cold Blood, conſidering theſe and many other Circumſtances, which 'twill be worth his pains to ſee if he can unmuffle himſelf from the Maſk of Infallibility, will think it reaſonable to ſet his impriſon'd Senſes at Liberty, and that he has a right to ſee with his own Eyes, hear with his own Ears, and judge by his own Reaſon; the conſequence of which might probably be, that weighing things in a right Scale, and ſeeing them in their true Colours, he would diſtinguiſh

between the merit of ſuffering for a good Cauſe, and the fooliſh oſtentation of drawing inconveniencies upon himſelf; and therefore will not be unwilling to be convinc'd that our Proteſtant Creed may make him happy in the other World, and the eaſier in this. A few of ſuch wiſe Proſelytes would by their Example draw ſo many after them, that the Party would inſenſibly melt away, and in a little time, without any angry word, we ſhould come to an Union, that all Good Men would have Reaſon to rejoyce at; but we are not to preſume upon theſe Converſions, without preparing Men for them by kind and reconciling Arguments; nothing is ſo againſt our Nature, as to believe thoſe can be in the right who are too hard upon us; there is a deformity in every thing that doth us hurt, it will look ſcurvily in our Eye while the ſmart continues, and a Man muſt have an extraordinary Meaſure of Grace, to think well of a Religion that reduces him and his Family to Miſery; in this reſpect our *Trimmer* would conſent to the mitigation of ſuch Laws as were made, (as it's ſaid King *Henry* VIII. got Queen *Elizabeth*)

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in a heat againſt *Rome*: It may be ſaid that even States as well as private Men are ſubject to Paſſion; a juſt indignation of a villainous Attempt produces at the ſame time ſuch Remedies, as perhaps are not without ſome mixture of Revenge, and therefore tho time cannot Repeal a Law, it may by a Natural Effect ſoften the Execution of it; there is leſs danger to Rouſe a Lyon when at Reſt, than to awake Laws that were intended to have their time of Sleeping, nay more than that, in ſome caſes their Natural periods of Life, dying of themſelves without the Solemnity of being revok'd, any otherwiſe than by the common conſent of Mankind, who do ceaſe to Execute, when the Reaſons in great Meaſure fail that firſt Created and Juſtify'd the Rigour of ſuch unuſual Penalties.

Our *Trimmer* is not eager to pick out ſome places in Hiſtory againſt this or any other Party; quite contrary, is very ſollicitous to find out any thing that may be healing, and tend to an Agreement; but to preſcribe the means of this Gentleneſs ſo as to make it effectual, muſt come from the only place that can furniſh Remedies for this

Cure, *viz.* a Parliament; in the mean time, it is to be wiſhed there may be ſuch a mutual calmneſs of Mind, as that the Proteſtants might not be ſo jealous, as ſtill to ſmell the Match that was to blow up the King, and both Houſes in the Gunpowder Treaſon, or to ſtart at every appearance of Popery, as if it were juſt taking Poſſeſſion. On the other ſide, let not the Papiſts ſuffer themſelves to be led by any hopes, tho never ſo flattering, to a Confidence or Oſtentation which muſt provoke Men to be leſs kind to them; let them uſe Modeſty on their ſides, and the Proteſtants Indulgence on theirs; and by this means there will be an overlooking of all Venial Faults, a tacit connivanee at all things that do not carry Scandal with them, and would amount to a kind of Natural Diſpenſation with the the ſevere Laws, ſince there would be no more Accuſers to be found, when the occaſions of Anger and Animoſity are once remov'd; let the Papiſts in the mean time remember, that there is a reſpect due from all leſſer numbers to greater, a deference to be paid by an Opinion that is Exploded, to one that is Eſtabliſh-

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ed; ſuch a Thought well digeſted will have an influence upon their Behaviour, and produce ſuch a Temper as muſt win the moſt eager Adverſaries out of their ill Humour to them, and give them a Title to all the Favour that may be conſiſtent with the Publick Peace and Security.

The *Trimmer*'s Opinion in Relation to things abroad.

THE World is ſo compos'd, that it is hard, if not impoſſible, for a Nation not to be a great deal involv'd in the fate of their Neighbours, and tho by the felicity of our Scituation, we are more Independant than any other People, yet we have in all Ages been concern'd for our own ſakes in the Revolutions abroad. There was a time when *England* was the over-ballancing

lancing Power of Chriſtendom, and that either by Inheritance or Conqueſt, the better part of *France* receiv'd Laws from us; after that we being reduc'd into our own Limits, *France* and *Spain* became the Rivals for the Univerſal Monarchy, and our third Power, tho in it ſelf leſs than either of the other, hapned to be Superiour to any of them, by that choice we had of throwing the Scales on that ſide to which we gave our Friendſhip. I do not know whether this Figure did not make us as great as our former Conqueſt, to be a perpetual Umpire of two great contending Powers, who gave us all their Courtſhip, and offer'd all their Incenſe at our Altar, whilſt the Fate of either Prince ſeemed to depend upon the Oracles we delivered; for the King of *England* to ſit on his Throne, as in the Supream Court of Juſtice, to which the two great Monarchs appeal, pleading their Cauſe, and expecting their Sentence. declaring which ſide was in the right, or at leaſt if we pleas'd which ſide ſhould have the better of it, was a piece of Greatneſs which was peculiar to us, and no wonder if we endeavour

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to preſerve it, as we did for a conſiderable time, it being our Safety, as well as Glory, to maintain it; but by a Fatality upon our Councils, or by the refin'd Policy of this latter Age, we have thought fit to uſe induſtry to deſtroy this mighty Power, which we have ſo long enjoyed; and that equality between the Two Monarchs, which we might for ever have preſerved, has been chiefly broken by us, whoſe Intereſt it was above all others to maintain it; when one of them, like the overflowing of the Sea, had gained more upon the other than our convenience, or indeed our ſafety, would allow; inſtead of mending the Banks, or making new ones, we our ſelves with our own hands helpt to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther Inundation. *France* and *Spain* have had their ſeveral turns in making uſe of our Miſtakes, and we have been formerly as deaf to the Inſtances of the then weaker part of the World to help them againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as we can now be to the Earneſtneſs of *Spain*, that we would aſſiſt them againſt the Power of *France*. *Gondamar* was as ſawcy, and as powerful too in King

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James his Court, as any French Ambaſſadour can have been at any time ſince, when men talkt as wrong then on the *Spaniſh* ſide, and made their Court by it, as well as any can have done ſince by talking as much for the *French*; ſo that from that time, inſtead of weighing in a wiſe Balance the power of either Crown, it looks as if we had learnt only to weigh the Penſions, and take the heavieſt.

It would be tedious, as well as unwelcome, to recapitulate all our wrong ſteps, ſo that I will go no farther than the King's Reſtauration, at which time the Balance was on the ſide of *France*, and that by the means of *Cromwell*, who for a ſeparate Intereſt of his own had ſacrificed that of the Nation, by joining with the ſtronger ſide, to ſuppreſs the Power of *Spain*, which he ought to have ſupported. Such a Method was natural enough to an Uſurper, and ſhew'd he was not the Lawful Father of the People, by his having ſo little care of them; and the Example coming from that hand, one would think ſhould, for that Reaſon, be leſs likely to be follow'd. But to go on, home comes the King, followed with Court-

Courtſhips from all Nations abroad, of which ſome did it not only to make them forget how familiarly they had us'd him when he was in other Circumſtances, but to beſpeak the Friendſhip of a Prince, who, beſides his other Greatneſs, was yet more conſiderable by being re-eſtabliſhed by the love of his people. *France* had an Intereſt either to diſpoſe us to ſo much good will, or at leaſt to put us into ſuch a Condition, that we might give no Oppoſition to their Deſigns; and *Flanders* being a perpetual Object in their Eye, a laſting Beauty for which they have an incurable paſſion, and not being kind enough to conſent to them, they meditated to commit a Rape upon her, which they thought would not be eaſie to do, whilſt *England* and *Holland* were agreed to reſcue her, when-ever they ſhould hear her cry out for help to them; to this end they put in practice Seaſonable and Artificial Whiſpers, to widen things between us, and the States. *Amboyna* and the Fiſhery muſt be talk'd of here; the freedom of the Seas, and the preſervation of Trade muſt be inſinuated there; and there being combuſtible matter on both ſides, in a little time

time it took Fire, which gave thoſe that kindled it, ſufficient cauſe to ſmile and hug themſelves, to ſee us both fall into the Net they had laid for us. And it is obſervable and of good example to us, if we will take it, That their Deſign being to ſet us together at Cuffs to weaken us, they kept themſelves Lookers on till our Victories began to break the Balance; then the King of *France*, like a wiſe Prince, was reſolved to ſupport the beaten ſide, and would no more let the Power of the Sea, than we ought to ſuffer the Monarchy of *Europe*, to fall into one hand: In purſuance to this, he took part with the *Dutch*, and in a little time made himſelf Umpire of the Peace between us; ſome time after, upon pretence of his Queen's Title to part of *Flanders*, by Right of Devolution, he falls into it with a mighty Force, for which the *Spaniard* was ſo little prepared, that he made a very ſwift Progreſs, and had ſuch a Torrent of undiſputed Victory, that *England* and *Holland*, tho the Wounds they had given one another were yet green, being ſtruck with the apprehenſion of ſo near a danger to them, thought it neceſſary, for their

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own defence, to make up a ſudden League, into which *Sweden* was taken to interpoſe for a Peace between the two Crowns.

This had ſo good an effect, that *France* was ſtopt in its Career, and the Peace of *Aix le Chapelle* was a little after concluded. 'Twas a forc'd putt; and tho *France* wiſely diſſembled their inward diſſatisfaction, yet from the very moment they reſolv'd to unty the Triple knot, whatever it coſt them; for his Chriſtian Majeſty, after his Conquering Meals, ever riſes with a ſtomach, and he lik'd the Pattern ſo well, that it gave him a longing deſire to have the whole Piece. Amongſt the other means uſed for the attaining this end, the ſending over the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, was not the leaſt powerful; ſhe was a very welcome Gueſt here, and her own Charms and Dexterity joined with other Advantages, that might help her perſwaſions, gave her ſuch an Aſcendant, that ſhe could hardly fail of ſucceſs. One of the Preliminaries of her Treaty, tho a trivial thing in it ſelf, yet was conſiderable in the conſequence, as very ſmall circumſtances often are in relation to the

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Government of the World. About this time a general Humour, in oppoſition to *France*, had made us throw off their Faſhion, and put on Veſts, that we might look more like a diſtinct People, and not be under the ſervility of imitation, which ever pays a greater deference to the Original, than is conſiſtent with the Equality all Independent Nations ſhould pretend to; *France* did not like this ſmall beginning of ill Humours, at leaſt of Emulation, and wiſely conſidering that it is a natural Introduction firſt to make the World their Apes, that they may be afterwards their Slaves. It was thought that one of the Inſtructions Madam brought along with her, was to laugh us out of theſe Veſts, which ſhe performed ſo effectually, that in a moment, like ſo many Footmen who had quitted their Maſters Livery, we all took it again, and returned to our old Service; ſo that the very time of doing it gave a very critical Advantage to *France*, ſince it lookt like an Evidence of our returning to their Intereſt, as well as to their Faſhion, and would give ſuch a diſtruſt of us to our new Allies, that it might facilitate the diſſolution

lution of the knot, which tied them ſo within their bounds, that they were very impatient till they were freed from the reſtraint.

But the Lady had a more extended Commiſſion than this, and without doubt we double-laid the Foundation of a new ſtrict Alliance, quite contrary to the other, in which we had been ſo lately engag'd. And of this there were ſuch early appearances, that the World began to look upon us as falling into Apoſtacy from the common Intereſt. Notwithſtanding all this, *France* did not neglect at the ſame time to give good words to the *Dutch*, and even to feed them with hopes of ſupporting them againſt us, when on a ſudden, that never to be forgotten Declaration of War againſt them comes out, only to vindicate his own Glory, and to revenge the Injuries done to his Brother in *England*, by which he became our Second in this Duel; ſo humble can this Prince be, when at the ſame time he does more Honour than we deſerve, he lays a greater ſhare of the blame upon our Shoulders, than did naturally belong to us; the particulars of that War, our part in it while we

ſtaid

ſtaid in, and when we were out of breath, our leaving the *French* to make an end of it, are things too well known to make it neceſſary, and too unwelcome in themſelves to incite me to repeat them; only the wiſdom of *France* is in this to be obſerv'd, That when we had made a ſeparate Peace, which left them ſingle to oppoſe the united Force of the Confederates, they were ſo far from being angry, that they would not ſhew ſo much as the leaſt coldneſs, hoping to get as much by our Mediation for a Peace, as they would have expected from our Aſſiſtance in the War, our Circumſtances at that time conſidered. This ſeaſonable piece of Indulgence in not reproaching us, but rather allowing thoſe Neceſſities of State which we gave for our Excuſe, was ſuch an engaging Method, that it went a great way to keep us ſtill in their Chains, when, to the Eye of the World, we had abſolutely broke looſe from them: And what paſs'd afterwards at *Nimeguen*, tho the King's Neutrality gave him the outward Figure of a Mediator, it appear'd that his Interpoſition was extremely ſuſpected of Partiality by the Confederates, who upon

upon that Ground did both at and before the Concluſion of that Treaty, treat his Miniſters there with a great deal of neglect. In this Peace, as well as that in the *Pirenean* and *Aix le Chapelle*, the King of *France*, at the Moment of making it, had the thought of breaking it; for a very little time after he broach'd his Pretenſions upon *Aloſt*, which were things that if they had been offer'd by a leſs formidable hand, would have been ſmiled at; but ill Arguments being ſeconded by good Armies, carry ſuch a power with them, that naked ſenſe is a very unequal Adverſa ry. It was thought that theſe aiery Claims were chiefly rais'd with the proſpect of getting *Luxemburg* for the Equivalent; and this Opinion was confirm'd by the blocking it up afterwards, pretending to the Country of *Chimay*, that it might be entirely ſurrounded by the French Dominions, and it was ſo preſſed that it might have fallen in a little time, if the King of *France* had not ſent Orders to his Troops to retire, and his Chriſtian Generoſity which was aſſign'd for the reaſon of it, made the World ſmile, ſince it is ſeen how differently his devout

vout Zeal works in *Hungary*: that ſpecious Reaſon was in many reſpects ill-tim'd, and *France* it ſelf gave it ſo faintly, that at the very time it look'd out of Countenance; the true ground of his Retiring is worth our obſervation; for at the inſtance of the Confederates, Offices were done, and Memorials given, but all ineffectual till the word *Parliament* was put into them; that powerful word had ſuch an effect, that even at that diſtance it rais'd the Siege, which may convince us of what efficacy the King of *England*'s words are, when he will give them their full weight, and threaten with his *Parliament*; it is then that he appears that great Figure we ought to repreſent him in our Minds, the Nation his Body, he the Head, and joined with that Harmony, that every word he pronounces is the Word of a Kingdom: Such words, as appears by this Example, are as effectual as Fleets and Armies, becauſe they can create them, and without this his word ſounds abroad like a faint Whiſper, that is either not heard, or (which is worſe) not minded. But tho *France* had made this ſtep of forced Compliance, it did not mean to leave off

off the purſuit of their pretenſions; and therefore immediately propoſed the Arbitration to the King; but it appear'd, that notwithſtanding his *Merit* towards the Confederates, in ſaving *Luxenburgh*, the remembrances of what had paſſed before, had left ſuch an ill taſte in their *Mouths*, that they could not Reliſh our being put into a Condition to diſpoſe of their Intereſts, and therefore declin d it by inſiſting upon a general Treaty, to which *France* has ever ſince continued to be averſe; our great earneſtneſs alſo to perſwade the Confederates to conſent to it, was ſo unuſual, and ſo ſuſpicious a method, that it might naturally make them believe, that *France* ſpake to them by our *Mouth*, and for that Reaſon, if there has been no other, might hinder the accepting it; and ſo little care hath been taken to cure this, or other Jealouſies the Confederates may have entertain'd, that quite contrary, their *Miniſters* here every day take freſh Alarms, from what they obſerve in ſmall, as well as in greater Circumſtances; and they being apt both to take and improve apprehenſions of this kind, draw ſuch Inferences from them, as make them entirely deſpair of us. Thus

Thus we now ſtand, far from being Innocent Spectators of our Neighbours Ruine, and by a fatal miſtake forgetting what a Certain Fore-runner it is to our own; and now it's time our *Trimmer* ſhould tell ſomething of his Opinion, upon this preſent State of things abroad; he firſt profeſſes to have no Biaſs, either for or againſt *France*, and that his thoughts are wholly directed by the Intereſt of his own Country; he allows, and has read that *Spain* uſed the ſame Methods, when it was in its heighth, as *France* doth now, and therefore 'tis not Partiality that moves him; but the juſt fear which all reaſonable Men muſt be poſſeſs'd with, of an overgrowing Power; *Ambition* is a devouring Beaſt, when it hath ſwallow'd one Province, inſtead of being cloyed, it has ſo much the greater *Stomach* to another, and being fed, becomes ſtill the more hungry; ſo that for the Confederates to expect a ſecurity from any thing but their own united ſtrength, is a moſt miſerable fallacy; and if they cannot reſiſt the *Incroachments* of *France* by their Arms, it is in vain for them to dream of any other means of preſervation; it would have the better grace, beſides

ſides the ſaving ſo much Blood and Ruin, to give up all at once; make a Preſent of themſelves, to appeaſe this haughty Monarch, rather than be whiſper'd, flatter'd, or cozened out of their liberty. Nothing is ſo ſoft as the firſt applications of a greater Prince, to engage a weaker, but that ſmiling Countenance is but a Vizard, it is not the true Face; for as ſoon as their turn is ſerv'd, the Courtſhip flyes to ſome other Prince or State, where the ſame part is to be acted over again, leaves the old miſtaken Friend, to Neglect and Contempt, and like an inſolent Lover to a Caſt off Miſtreſs, Reproaches her with that Infamy, of which he himſelf was the Author. *Sweden, Bavaria, Palatine, &c.* may by their Freſh Examples, teach other Princes what they are reaſonably to expect, and what Snakes are hid under the Flowers the Court of *France* ſo liberally throws upon them, whilſt they can be uſeful. The various Methods and deep Intrigues, with the differing Notes in ſeveral Countries, do not only give ſuſpicion, but aſſurance that every thing is put in Practice, by which Univerſal Monarchy may be obtained. Who can reconcile the withdrawing of his

Troops from *Luxenburg*, in conſideration of the War in *Hungary*, which was not then declared, and preſently after encouraging the *Turk* to take *Vienna*, and conſequently to deſtroy the Empire? Or who can think that the Perſecution of the Poor Proteſtants of *France*, will be accepted of God, as an Attonement for hazarding the loſs of the whole Chriſtian Faith? Can he be thought in earneſt, when he ſeem'd to be afraid of the *Spaniard*, and for that reaſon muſt have *Luxenburg*, and that he cannot be ſafe from *Germany*, unleſs he is in poſſeſſion of *Strasburg*? All Injuſtice and Violence muſt in it ſelf be grievous, but the aggravations of ſupporting 'em by falſe Arguments, and inſulting Reaſons, has ſomething in it yet more provoking, than the Injuries themſelves; and the World has ground enough to apprehend, from ſuch a Method of arguing, that even their Senſes are to be ſubdu'd as well as their Liberties. Then the variety of Arguments uſed by *France* in ſeveral Countries is very obſervable: In *England* and *Denmark*, nothing inſiſted on but the Greatneſs and Authority of the Crown; on the other ſide, the Great Men in *Poland* are commended, who differ in Opinion

pinion with the King, and they argue like Friends to the Priviledge of the Dyet, againſt the ſeparate Power of the Crown: In *Sweden* they are troubled that the King ſhould have chang'd ſomething there of late, by his ſingle Authority, from the antient and ſettled Authority and Conſtitutions: at *Ratisbone*, the moſt Chriſtian Majeſty taketh the Liberties of all the Electors, and free States, into his immediate protection, and tells them the Emperour is a dangerous Man, an aſpiring Hero, that would infallibly devour them, if he was not at hand to reſiſt him on their behalf; but above all in *Holland*, he has the moſt obliging tenderneſs for the *Common-wealth*, and is in ſuch diſquiets, leſt it ſhould be invaded by the Prince of *Orange*, that they can do no leſs in gratitude, than undo themſelves when he bids them, to ſhow how ſenſible they are of his exceſſive good Nature; yet in ſpight of all theſe Contradictions, there are in the World ſuch refin'd *States-men*, as will upon their Credit affirm the following Paradoxes to be real truth; firſt that *France* alone is ſincere and keeps its Faith, and conſequently

that it is the only Friend we can rely upon; that the King of *France*, of all Men living, has the leaſt mind to be a Conqueror; that he is a ſleepy, tame Creature, void of all Ambition, a poor kind of a Man, that has no farther thoughts than to be quiet; that he is charm'd by his Friendſhip to us, that it is impoſſible he ſhould ever do us hurt, and therefore tho *Flanders* was loſt, it would not in the leaſt concern us; that he would fain help the Crown of *England* to be abſolute, which would be to take pains to put it into a condition to oppoſe him, as it is, and muſt be our Intereſt, as long as he continues in ſuch an overballancing Power and Greatneſs.

Such a Creed as this, if once receiv'd, might prepare our belief for greater things, and as he that taught Men to eat a Dagger, began firſt with a Penknife; ſo if we can be prevail'd with to digeſt the ſmaller Miſtakes, we may at laſt make our ſtomachs ſtrong enough for that of Tranſubſtantiation. Our *Trimmer* cannot eaſily be converted out of his ſenſes by theſe State Sophiſters, and yet he has no ſuch peeviſh Obſtinacy as to reject all Correſpon-

reſpondence with *France*, becauſe we ought to be apprehenſive of the too great power of it; he would not have the Kings Friendſhip to the Confederates extended to the involving him in any unreaſonable or dangerous Engagements, neither would he have him lay aſide the conſideration of his better eſtabliſhment at home, out of his exceſſive Zeal to ſecure his Allies abroad; but ſure there might be a Mean between theſe two oppoſite Extreams, and it may be wiſh'd that our Friendſhip with *France* ſhould at leaſt be ſo bounded, that it may conſiſt with the humour as well as the intereſt of *England*. There is no Woman but has the fears of contracting too near an intimacy with a much greater Beauty, becauſe it expoſes her too often to a Compariſon that is not advantageous to her; and ſure it may become a Prince to be as jealous of his Dignity, as a Lady can be of her good looks, and to be as much out of Countenance, to be thought an humble Companion to ſo much a greater Power; to be always ſeen in an ill Light, to be ſo darkned by the brightneſs of a greater Star, is ſomewhat mortifying; and

when *England* might ride Admiral at the head of the Confederates, to look like the Kitching-Yatch to the Grand *Louis*, is but a ſcurvy Figure for us to make in the Map of *Chriſtendom*; it would riſe up in our *Trimmer*'s ſtomach, if ever (which God forbid) the power of calling and intermitting Parliaments here, ſhould be transferred to the Crown of *France*, and that all the opportunities of our own ſettlements at home ſhould give way to their Projects abroad; and that our Intereſt ſhould be ſo far ſacrific'd to our Compliance, that all the Omnipotence of *France* can never make us full amends for it. In the mean time, he ſhrinks at the diſmal proſpect he can by no means drive away from his thoughts, that when *France* has gather d all the fruit ariſing from our Miſtakes, and that we can bear no more with them, they will cut down the Tree and throw it into the fire; for all this while, ſome Superfine States-Men, to comfort us, would fain perſwade the World that this or that accident may ſave us, and for all that is or ought to be dear to us, would have us to rely wholly upon Chance, not conſidering that Fortune is Wiſ-

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doms Creature, and that God Almighty loves to be on the Wiſeſt as well as the Strongeſt ſide; therefore this is ſuch a miſerable ſhift, ſuch a ſhameful Evaſion, that they would be laught to death for it, if the running Conſequence of this Miſtake did not more diſpoſe Men to rage, and a deteſtation of it.

Our *Trimmer* is far from Idolatry in other things, in one thing only he comes near it, his Country is in ſome degree his Idol; he does not Worſhip the Sun, becauſe 'tis not peculiar to us, it rambles about the World, and is leſs kind to us than others; but for the Earth of *England*, tho' perhaps inferior to that of many places abroad, to him there is Divinity in it, and he would rather dye, than ſee a piece of *Engliſh* Glaſs trampled down by a Foreign Treſpaſſer: he thinks there are a great many of his mind, for all Plants are apt to taſte of the Soyl in which they grow, and we that grow here, have a Root that produces in us a Stalk of Engliſh Juice, which is not to be changed by grafting or foreign infuſion; and I do not know whether any thing leſs will prevail, than the Modern Experi-

ment, by which the Blood of one Creature is tranſmitted into another; according to which, before the *French* can be let into our Bodies, every drop of our own muſt be drawn out of them.

Our *Trimmer* cannot but lament, that by a Sacrifice too great for one Nation to another, we ſhould be like a rich Mine, made uſeleſs only for want of being wrought, and that the Life and Vigour which ſhould move us againſt our Enemies is miſerably apply'd to tear our own Bowels; that being made by our happy ſcituation, not only ſafer, but if we pleaſe greater too, than other Countries which far exceed us in extent; that having Courage by Nature, Learning by Induſtry, and Riches by Trade, we ſhould corrupt all theſe Advantages, ſo as to make them inſignificant, and by a fatality which ſeems peculiar to us, miſplace our active rage one againſt another, whilſt we are turn'd into Statues on that ſide where lies our greateſt danger; to be unconcern'd not only at our Neighbours ruine but our own, and let our Iſland lye like a great Hulk in the Sea, without Rudder or Sail, all the Men caſt away in her, or as if we were all Children in a great Cradle, and rockt aſleep to a foreign Tune.

I ſay when our *Trimmer* repreſenteth to his Mind, our Roſes blaſted and diſcolour d, whilſt the Lillies Triumph and grow Inſolent, upon the Compariſon; when he conſiders our own once flouriſhing Lawrel, now withered and dying, and nothing left us but a remembrance of a better part in Hiſtory, than we ſhall make in the next Age; which will be no more to us than an Eſcutcheon hung upon our Door when we are dead; when he foreſees from hence, growing Infamy from abroad, confuſion at home, and all this without the poſſibility of a Cure, in reſpect of the voluntary fetters good Men put upon themſelves by their Allegiance without a good meaſure of preventing Grace, he would be tempted to go out of the World like a *Roman* Philoſopher, rather than endure the burthen of Life under ſuch a diſcouraging Proſpect. But Miſtakes, as all other things, have their Periods, and many times the neareſt way to Cure, is not to oppoſe them, but ſtay till they are cruſht with their own weight: for Nature will not allow any thing to continue long that is violent; violence is a wound, and as a wound, muſt be curable in a little

time, or elſe 'tis Mortal; but a Nation comes near to be Immortal, therefore the wound will one time or another be cured, tho perhaps by ſuch rough Methods, if too long forborn, as may even make the beſt Remedies we can prepare, to be at the ſame time a Melancholly Contemplation to us; there is but one thing (God Almighties Providence excepted) to ſupport a Man from ſinking under theſe afflicting thoughts, and that is the hopes we draw ſingly from the King himſelf, without the mixture of any other conſideration.

Tho the Nation was laviſh of their Kindneſs to him at his firſt coming, yet there remains ſtill a ſtock of Warmth in Mens Hearts for him.

Beſides the good Influences of his happy Planet are not yet all ſpent, and tho the Stars of Men paſt their youth are generally declining, and have leſs Force, like the Eyes of decaying Beauties, yet by a Bleſſing peculiar to himſelf, we may yet hope to be ſav'd by his Autumnal Fortune: He has ſomething about him that will draw down a healing Miracle for his and our Deliverance; a Prince which ſeems fitted

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for ſuch an offending Age, in which Mens Crimes have been ſo general, that the not forgiving his People has been the deſtroying of them, whoſe Gentleneſs gives him a natural Dominion that hath no bounds, with ſuch a noble mixture of Greatneſs and Condeſcention, an engaging Look, that diſarms Men of their ill Humours, and their Reſentments; ſomething in him that wanteth a Name, and can be no more defined than it can be reſiſted; a Gift of Heaven, of its laſt finiſhing, where it will be peculiarly kind; the only Prince in the World that dares be familiar, or that has right to triumph over thoſe forms which were firſt invented to give awe to thoſe who could not judge, and to hide Defects from thoſe that could; a Prince that has exhauſted himſelf by his Liberality, and endanger'd himſelf by his Mercy; who out-ſhines by his own Light and natural Virtues all the varniſh of ſtudied Acquiſitions; his Faults are like Shades to a good Picture, or like Allay to Gold, to make it the more uſeful, he may have ſome, but for any Man to ſee them through ſo many reconciling Virtues, is a Sacrilegious piece of of ill nature, of

which

which no generous Mind can be guilty; a Prince that deſerves to be lov'd for his own ſake, even without the help of a Compariſon; our Love, our Duty, and our Danger, all join to cement our Obedience to him; in ſhort, whatever he can do, it is no more poſſible for us to be angry with him, than with a Bank that ſecures us from the raging Sea, the kind Shade that hides us from the ſcorching Sun, the welcom Hand that reaches us a Reprieve, or with the Guardian-Angel, that reſcues our Souls from the devouring Jaws of wretched Eternity.

CONCLUSION.

TO Conclude, our *Trimmer* is ſo fully ſatisfy'd of the Truth of theſe Principles, by which he is directed, in reference to the Publick, that he will neither be Hectored and Threatned, Laught, nor Drunk out of them; and inſtead of being converted by the Arguments of his Adverſaries to their Opinions, he is very much confirmed in his own by them; he profeſſes ſolemnly that were it in his Power to

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chuſe, he would rather have his Ambition bounded by the Commands of a Great and Wiſe Maſter, than let it range with a Popular Licence, tho' crown'd with ſucceſs; yet he cannot commit ſuch a Sin againſt the glorious thing call'd Liberty, nor let his Soul ſtoop ſo much below it ſelf, as to be content without repining to have his Reaſon wholly ſubdu'd, or the Priviledge of Acting like a ſenſible Creature, torn from him by the imperious Dictates of unlimited Authority, in what hand ſoever it happens to be plac'd. What is there in this that is ſo Criminal, as to deſerve the Penalty of that moſt ſingular Apothegme, *A* Trimmer *is worſe than a Rebel*? What do angry Men ail to rail ſo againſt Moderation, do's it not look as if they were going to ſome very ſcurvy Extreme, that is too ſtrong to be digeſted by the more conſidering part of Mankind? Theſe Arbitrary Methods, beſides the injuſtice of them, are (God be thanked) very unskilful too, for they fright the Birds, by talking ſo loud, from coming into the Nets that are laid for them; and when Men agree to rifle a Houſe, they ſeldom give warning, or blow a Trum-

Trumpet; but there are ſome ſmall States-Men, who are ſo full charg'd with their own Expectations, that they cannot contain.

And kind Heaven by ſending ſuch a ſeaſonable Curſe upon their undertakings, has made their ignorance an Antidote againſt their Malice; ſome of theſe cannot treat peaceably, yielding will not ſatisfy them, they will have Men by ſtorm; there are others, that muſt have Plots, to make their Service more neceſſary, and have an Intereſt to keep them alive, ſince they are to live upon them; and perſwade the King to retrench his own Greatneſs, ſo as to ſhrink into the head of a Party, which is the betraying him into ſuch an Unprincely miſtake, and to ſuch a wilful diminution of himſelf, that they are the laſt Enemies he ought to allow himſelf to forgive; ſuch Men, if they could, would prevail with the Sun to ſhine only upon them and their Friends, and to leave all the reſt of the World in the dark; this is a very unuſual Monopoly, and may come within the Equity of the Law, which makes it Treaſon to Impriſon the King, when ſuch unfitting bounds are put to his Favour, and he con-

confin'd to the narrow limits of a particular ſet of Men, that would incloſe him; theſe Honeſt and only Loyal Gentlemen, if they may be allow'd to bear Witneſs for themſelves, make a King their Engine, and degrade him into a property at the very time that their Flattery would make him believe they paid Divine Worſhip to him; beſides theſe there is a flying Squadron on both ſides, that are afraid the World ſhould agree, ſmall dabblers in Conjuring, that raiſe angry Apparitions to keep Men from being reconcil'd, like Waſps that fly up and down, buz and ſting to keep Men unquiet; but theſe Inſects are commonly ſhort-liv'd Creatures, and no doubt in a little time Mankind will be rid of them; they were Gyants at leaſt who fought once againſt Heaven, but for ſuch Pigmies as theſe to contend againſt it, is ſuch a provoking Folly, that the inſolent Bunglers ought to be laught and hiſt out of the World for it; they ſhould conſider there is a Soul in that great body of the People, which may for a time be drowzy and unactive, but when the Leviathan is rouz'd, it moves like an angry Creature, and will neither be convinc'd nor reſiſt-

reſiſted: the People can never agree to ſhew their united Powers, till they are extremely tempted and provoked to it, ſo that to apply Cupping-Glaſſes to a great Beaſt naturally diſpos'd to ſleep, and to force the Tame thing whether it will or no to be Valiant, muſt be learnt out of ſome other Book than *Machiavil*, who would never have preſcrib'd ſuch a propoſterous Method. It is to be remembred, that if Princes have Law and Authority on their ſides, the People on theirs may have Nature, which is a formidable Adverſary; Duty, Juſtice, Religion, nay, even Humane Prudence too, bids the People ſuffer any thing rather than reſiſt; but uncorrected Nature, where e're it feels the ſmart will run to the neareſt Remedy, Mens Paſſions in this Caſe are to be conſider'd as well as their Duty, let it be never ſo ſtrongly enforc'd, for if their Paſſions are provok'd, they being as much a part of us as our Limbs, they lead Men into a ſhort way of Arguing, that admits no diſtinction, and from the foundation of Self-Defence, they will draw Inferences, that will have miſerable effects upon the quiet of a Government.

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Our *Trimmer* therefore dreads a general diſcontent, becauſe he thinks it differs from a Rebellion, only as a Spotted Fever does from the Plague, the ſame Species under a lower degree of Malignity; it works ſeveral ways, ſometimes like a ſlow Poyſon that has its Effects at a great diſtance from the time it was given, ſometimes like dry Flax prepared to catch at the firſt Fire, or like Seed in the Ground ready to ſprout upon the firſt Shower; in every ſhape 'tis fatal, and our *Trimmer* thinks no pains or precaution can be ſo great as to prevent it.

In ſhort he thinks himſelf in the right, grounding his Opinion upon that Truth, which equally hates to be under the Oppreſſions of wrangling Sophiſtry of the one hand, or the ſhort dictates of miſtaken Authority on the other.

Our *Trimmer* adores the Goddeſs Truth, tho' in all Ages ſhe has been ſcurvily uſed, as well as thoſe that Worſhipped her; 'tis of late become ſuch a ruining Virtue, that Mankind ſeems to be agreed to commend and avoid it; yet the want of Practice which Repeals the other Laws, has no influence upon the Law of Truth, becauſe

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it has root in Heaven, and an Intrinſick value in it ſelf, that can never be impaired; ſhe ſhews her Greatneſs in this, that her Enemies even when they are ſucceſsful are aſham'd to own it; nothing but Power full of Truth has the prerogative of Triumphing, not only after Victories, but in ſpite of them, and to put Conqueſt her ſelf out of Countenance; ſhe may be kept under and ſuppreſt, but her Dignity ſtill remains with her, even when ſhe is in Chains; Falſhood with all her Impudence, has not enough to ſpeak ill of her before her Face, ſuch Majeſty ſhe carries about her, that her moſt proſperous Enemies are fain to whiſper their Treaſon; all the Power upon Earth can never extinguiſh her, ſhe has lived in all Ages; and let the Miſtaken Zeal of prevailing Authority, Chriſten any oppoſition to it, with what Name they pleaſe, ſhe makes it not only an ugly and unmannerly, but a dangerous thing to perſiſt; ſhe has lived very retired indeed, nay ſometime ſo buried, that only ſome few of the diſcerning part of Mankind could have a Glimpſe of her; with all that ſhe has Eternity in her, ſhe knows not how to dye, and from the

the darkeſt Clouds that ſhade and cover her, ſhe breaks from time to time with Triumph for her Friends, and Terrour to her Enemies.

Our *Trimmer* therefore inſpired by this Divine Virtue, thinks fit to conclude with theſe Aſſertions, That our Climate is a *Trimmer*, between that part of the World where men are Roaſted, and the other where they are Frozen; That our Church is a *Trimmer*, between the Phrenzy of Platonick Viſions, and the Lethargick Ignorance of Popiſh Dreams; That our Laws are *Trimmers*, between the Exceſs of unbounded Power, and the Extravagance of Liberty not enough reſtrained; That true Virtue has ever been thought a *Trimmer*, and to have its dwelling in the middle between the two Extreams; That even God Almighty himſelf is divided between his two great Attributes, his Mercy and his Juſtice.

In ſuch Company, our *Trimmer* is not aſham'd of his Name, and willingly leaves to the bold Champions of either Extream, the Honour of contending with no leſs Adverſaries, than Nature, Religion, Liberty, Prudence, Humanity, and Common Senſe. *FINIS.*